

BYZANTIUM AND THE WEST c.850-c.1200

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INTRODUCTION

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The fourteen papers published in this volume were delivered originally at the Eighteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, held at the University of Oxford, from 30th March to 1st April, 1984. The Symposium was sponsored by the University's Department for External Studies, under the auspices of the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies and the British Academy. It was supported by a grant from the Modern History Faculty of the University.

The chronological limits (c.850-c.1200) were chosen so as to concentrate attention on the period after the resumption of direct contact between Byzantium and transalpine Europe in the Carolingian era and before the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade. While there were important developments, especially after the mid eleventh century when the growth of Byzantine power was halted and reversed, there was an underlying stability in political relations between East and West until the last two decades of the twelfth century, and this gives some coherence to the study of the period. The geographical arena and methods of diplomacy remained the same. Familiar issues were confronted within a slowly evolving framework of attitudes and ideologies.

The first six papers deal mainly with politics. Those of T.S. Brown and Dimitri Obolensky look backwards into the dark age, to document the gradual uncoupling of Italy from Byzantium and the interposition of a barrier of pagan Slav tribes in the Balkans which made movement by land between East and West extremely hazard-

ous. These two papers and the following four (those of Jonathan Shepard, Karl Leyser, H.E.J.Cowdrey and Paul Magdalino) then consider the political manoeuvrings of Byzantium and the greater and lesser powers of the West for position and influence in Italy, the Balkans and the Mediterranean from c.850 to c.1200. Their prime concern is to examine attitudes in the two halves of Christendom rather than to give a continuous narrative of events; for attitudes were as important as real political circumstances in shaping policy, besides reflecting, albeit gradually and with a considerable delay, the steady shift in the balance of power in favour of the West after 1050. The contributions of individual papers are discussed more fully in the second half of this introduction, where an attempt is made to trace the development and gradual deterioration in political relations in the period covered by the Symposium.

Italy is viewed as the key intermediary zone where Byzantium and the major Western powers had clear and competing interests, and where their cultural spheres overlapped and interacted. Apart from Rome itself (which naturally features prominently in any discussion of East-West relations), Venice and southern Italy were the chief foci of Byzantine concern in the peninsula and therefore receive particular attention in this volume. The rise of the former from dependency, as a malleable Byzantine client charged with policing the Adriatic at the end of the ninth century, to naval and commercial parity in the twelfth century is described by M.E. Martin, while the transition from Byzantine to Norman rule (1041-1071) is presented by G.A.Loud as causing relatively little disturbance, in the short term, to the complex social, administrative and religious *status quo* in the south.

The Symposium's coverage of cultural connections and disconnections between Byzantium and the West was more limited than its coverage of political relations. No attempt was made to survey the full range of contact, convergence and divergence in religion, art, literature, thought and technology. Instead contributors were invited to examine in detail specific aspects of cultural relations. The five papers which are published provide ample illustration of

their variety.

Western influence on Byzantium in one medium, enamel, is documented by David Buckton, who proves conclusively that the *cloisonné* technique was exported from the Carolingian West to Byzantium after the end of iconoclasm in the mid ninth century. Separate and parallel development in monasticism is demonstrated by Marilyn Dunn. After conducting a critical analysis of the Life of Stephen of Muret (†1125), founder of the Order of Grandmont, she concludes that the greater austerity and increased emphasis on eremiticism evident in the new monastic orders of the West in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were spontaneous religious reactions to new phenomena in monastic and secular life, and that insofar as they drew their inspiration from examples, they did so from those recorded in the written lives and sayings of the Egyptian fathers rather than from contemporary Byzantine practice. A similar parallelism in the development of literary genres and techniques is registered by Roderick Beaton, who emphasises the importance of three elements (emancipation of the writer, exploitation of the vernacular, and fictionality) which are present in Western and Byzantine texts of the twelfth century. He focusses attention on the four *Ptochoprodromika* poems of the mid twelfth century, in which, exceptionally, all three elements are exploited simultaneously. Two counter-examples of specific pulses of Byzantine influence which had a marked impact on the West are adduced by Bernard Hamilton and Tamar Avner. The former argues that the Cathar communities, which were emerging in the West from the mid twelfth century, received their doctrines and rites from the Bogomil churches of the Balkans (which themselves had been influenced by Paulicians and possibly Novatians). The latter documents the important iconographic contribution of Byzantine Old Testament illustration to the miniaturists working in the court *atelier* of Saint Louis in the mid thirteenth century, through her meticulous analysis of the surviving manuscripts, Byzantine and French, which include illustrated scenes from the story of the Levite (Judges 19).

The final paper, that of Nicolas Oikonomides, looks ahead to the bleak future facing the Palaeologan dynasty in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He argues that Western influence contributed to the collapse of Byzantine power by exacerbating the divisions, never negligible, between the towns, readier to adapt to new economic and cultural trends, and the more traditional society of the countryside.

The papers published in this volume throw new light on many facets of a vast and complicated subject. It is the most recent in a line of collective works (only a multiplicity of human minds can hope to encompass the subject) devoted to East-West relations in the middle ages. Its contribution — so it seems to the editor — is no less substantial than that of recent *Settimane di studio* which have reviewed aspects of East-West relations.¹ It picks up some of the main themes of its immediate British predecessor, *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1973), edited by D. Baker,² and develops or modifies them in the light of recent research.

There are three general conclusions of some moment which can be drawn from the individual contributions to this volume. The first is a rather Gibbonian evaluation of Byzantium's contribution to Western culture in the post-Carolingian epoch (hinted at in several contributions) and of Byzantine responsiveness to Western ideas. It sustains Peter Brown's objection to the traditional view of Byzantium as a reservoir of superior culture from which successive

¹ E.g. *Settimane di studio*, xx (1973) *I problemi dell' Occidente nel secolo VIII* (C. Mango, 'La culture grecque et l'occident au VIII^e siècle', pp. 683-721); xxv (1978) *La navigazione mediterranea nell' alto medioevo* (the papers of T. Lewicki, A. Lewis and A.L. Udovitch on maritime travel and trade, pp. 439-546, and those of M. Cortelazzo, G. Oman and G.B. Pellegrini on maritime technical vocabulary, pp. 759-841); xxvii (1981) *Nascita dell' Europa ed Europa carolingia: un'equazione da verificare* (P. Grierson, 'The Carolingian Empire in the Eyes of Byzantium', pp. 885-916, and P. Classen, 'Italien zwischen Byzanz und dem Frankenreich', pp. 919-967).

² Notably the themes running through the contributions of K. Leyser ('The Tenth Century in Byzantine-Western Relationships', pp. 29-63) and A. Bryer ('Cultural Relations between East and West in the Twelfth Century', pp. 77-94).

but discrete discharges of influence were released into the lower-level basins of Western art, literature and thought.³ But the challenge can be made not on Peter Brown's grounds, *à propos* of late antiquity — that the process was one of continuous small-scale cultural interchange across the Mediterranean — but on the more damaging grounds that it is hard to detect evidence of Byzantine superiority in many areas of cultural activity after the mid eighth century.

Byzantium had relatively little to offer the West. Apart from a large stock of Greek texts, classical and late antique, pagan and Christian, which it had succeeded in conserving, there were the traditions of statecraft which had been developed and refined in the course of the dark age struggle against the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphates, and a rich artistic heritage.⁴ The West, by contrast, ever since the Carolingian court had sponsored a revival of education, learning, literature, art and architecture, which gathered momentum between 750 and 800, could have exerted a potentially vivifying influence on the impoverished, highly conservative culture of the literate elite in Byzantium, but encountered a solid wall of cultural

³ P. Brown, 'Eastern and Western Christendom in Late Antiquity: A Parting of the Ways', in *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (London, 1982), pp. 166-195, especially pp.167-174. T.S.Brown (p.37) and Marilyn Dunn (pp.258-259) follow him in challenging the notion that 'some obscure law of cultural hydraulics governed a westward flow of Byzantine influence.'

⁴ The West could learn much from Byzantine statecraft, defined broadly as covering the full range of action of the autocracy — the ordering of court life, the stage-management of great public occasions, the production and dissemination of propaganda, the arts of diplomacy, the efficient bureaucratisation of the state, and the advanced development of the science of war. However, the West was quite capable of devising effective institutions and techniques of its own without recourse to Byzantine models. A telling example can be found in the development of Western siegecraft: R. Rogers, *Latin Siege Warfare in the Twelfth Century* (D. Phil., Oxford, 1984) has presented a powerful case for supposing that 'the primary impetus behind the development of advanced techniques was not the percolation of Near Eastern methods westwards. Rather ... besiegers adapted the means at their disposal to the challenges they faced and ... great sieges of the age concentrated resources from all over the Latin West and also helped in spreading techniques'.

chauvinism.⁵

It is true that a superficially similar cultural revival occurred in Byzantium. But it began later, relied more on individual initiative and less on government sponsorship (which was spasmodic), and was more restricted in scope. It never succeeded in advancing scholarship much beyond the collection, copying and excerpting of texts or in promoting thought much beyond that required for the digestion of knowledge into compendia and handbooks. There was perhaps one brief period of fifty years in the mid eleventh century when it seemed as if scholars and teachers might emancipate themselves from the bureaucratic nexus which dominated Byzantine cultural life, and might pursue their studies in a critical spirit, even going so far as to use reason to examine the propositions of theology. But these hesitant moves were all too easily quashed by the new Comnenian regime, which staged show-trials of the more independent-minded scholars (who were accused of doctrinal deviation) and re-organised secondary schooling and higher studies under the direct control of the patriarchate, replacing philosophy with New Testament studies at the summit of the curriculum. The upsurge in the intellectual and cultural life of the twelfth century West, which led to the establishment of the first universities, had no parallel in Byzantium, which therefore had everything to learn and virtually nothing to give save the texts it had conserved.⁶

The traditional education which concentrated on inculcating clas-

⁵ Recent surveys of the Carolingian and twelfth century renaissances, by J.J. Contreni and S.C. Ferruolo respectively, with bibliographies, are presented in W. Treadgold (ed.), *Renaissances Before the Renaissance* (Stanford, 1984), pp. 59-74, 114-143, 213-216 and 218-220.

⁶ C. Mango, *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), pp. 137-148, which can be supplemented with Treadgold's slightly rosier account of the 'Macedonian Renaissance' in W. Treadgold (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 75-98 and with R. Browning, 'Enlightenment and Repression in Byzantium in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Past and Present*, lxi (1975), pp. 3-23. The intellectual enrichment of Paulician and Bogomil dualist ideas, which were later transmitted to the West, was one of Byzantium's main cultural contributions (see D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils* [Cambridge, 1948], c.5 for their enrichment and Bernard Hamilton [*passim*] for their transmission).

sical linguistic skills and a defined body of inherited knowledge was designed for the reproduction of a bureaucracy. It was not calculated to promote independence of thought or imagination. It should cause little surprise that the literary works produced by some members of this elite of secular and clerical administrators, mainly for the delectation of their peers, were lacking in vitality, humour and imagination or that they showed little interest in the infinite variety of observable phenomena of human and natural life. Their most characteristic writings were speeches and letters, in which a premium was put on ornate language, on rhetorical display and on antiquarian knowledge – all of which, of course, helped mark off the professional elite from society at large. Such histories as were written scarcely rose above the level of the chronicle. Most were somewhat mechanical enumerations of events into which authors did not infuse coherent interpretations of their own. The liveliest products of this bureaucratic milieu were the libellous pamphlets which presented imaginative, entertaining but often grotesquely distorted portraits of notable figures. Most are lost but they have left numerous traces in the surviving histories, especially those of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, where authors gave more space to the delineation and caricaturing of individuals. The only other half-way decent literature was produced outside this metropolitan coterie (but on a decreasing scale after the tenth century) and recorded the lives of distinguished holy men in a simple style and with numerous picturesque anecdotes. Of imaginative literature proper, few cultures can have produced such an exiguous quantity of such relatively low-level prose and poetry over so long a span of time as Byzantium. The acme of its creativity probably came in the twelfth century, when it is just possible that the revival of the genre of the erotic novel exercised a fleeting and subsidiary influence on the near-contemporary French *romans d'antiquité*. But in general, the literary culture of Byzantium continued to be stifled by a bureaucratic elite with narrow, conservative tastes, and was incapable providing inspiration to for-

eign authors.⁷

If we turn to the arts, the scene is not so cheerless. True, Byzantine architecture could not stand comparison, whether for scale or for innovation in design, with that of the West where the Carolingian revival of the Roman Early Christian basilica led ultimately to the flowering of the Romanesque throughout Latin Christendom in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. True, sculptur in the round was never revived in Byzantium as it was in the West. True, the so-called Macedonian Renaissance in miniature art of the late ninth and tenth centuries merely reflected 'the artificial and anaemic antiquarianism of court circles' and was very short-lived.⁸ But in the sphere of pictorial art, especially miniature painting, Byzantium did exercise considerable influence. Apart from a continuing impact on artistic taste in the more receptive parts of Italy⁹, two strong pulses of Byzantine influence can be detected in the period covered by the Symposium. The first was primarily iconographic and af-

⁷ C. Mango, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-255. E.M. Jeffreys, 'The Comnenian Background to the "Romans d'Antiquité"', *B*, 1 (1980), pp. 455-486 argues that the romances of Theodore Prodromus and Constantine Manasses had some influence on those commissioned by Eleanor of Aquitaine in the 1150s and 1160s, but readily admits that the varied literary experiments of twelfth century France provided the main impetus. The importance of the genre of the libellous pamphlet (the *psogos*) was recognised long ago by H.F.Tozer, 'Byzantine Satire', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, ii (1881), pp. 233-270. It has received scant attention from Byzantinists, notwithstanding the inventiveness of psogists. H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich, 1978), i, pp. 104-107, 120-122, 128, 132, 138, 390 for a recent but perfunctory discussion of the genre.

⁸ C. Mango, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-281 for a summary history of Byzantine art and architecture, especially pp. 272-274 on the 'Macedonian Renaissance'. For architecture in the West, see R. Krautheimer, 'The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture', in *Studies in Early Christian Medieval, and Renaissance Art* (London-New York, 1971), pp. 203-256, and K.J. Conant, *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture 800-1200* (Harmondsworth, 1978).

⁹ T.S. Brown (pp. 37 & 44) for Italy in the ninth century; O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (London, 1970), pp. 101-107 for Byzantine influence in Campania and Apulia in the eleventh century, pp. 107-111 for Rome which was more resistant, and c.4 for Venice and Sicily in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.

fected the Germanic world north of the Alps in the tenth century. The second pulse, in the twelfth century, was more pervasive and conveyed important elements of Byzantine style.

It is clear that by the tenth century the artists of transalpine Europe, from Ottonian Saxony to Anglo-Saxon England, had developed their own independent styles and iconographies. They were therefore relatively impervious to Byzantine influence. But some Byzantine iconographic schemes penetrated into their repertoires. In particular, a range of traditional scenes, representing the majesty of a ruler and the central feasts of the liturgical cycle, were borrowed and adapted, mainly by Ottonian artists.¹⁰ It may, however, be doubted, in the light of David Buckton's paper, whether the traffic in exotic artefacts (traditionally viewed as the chief intermediaries conveying artistic ideas over long distances, in the period before 1100 A.D.) was as one-way as has been assumed (from East to West), and perhaps whether such Byzantine designs and motifs as were conveyed in unfamiliar materials exercised a decisive influence on royal patronage in Western courts.¹¹

Byzantium exercised a more extensive influence on Western art in the twelfth century, an influence which was most pronounced in manuscript illumination but was also discernible in wall-painting (on which the grand mosaic programmes executed in Sicily and Venice and inspired by the latest trends in Constantinople made a

¹⁰ See, for example, K. Weitzmann, 'Various Aspects of Byzantine Influence on the Latin Countries from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century', *DOP* ,xx (1966), pp. 14-19.

¹¹ K. Leyser, *art. cit.*, pp. 41-43 stresses the importance of the disbursement of luxurious and unusual presents by Byzantine ambassadors and commanders in setting a standard for kingly converse within the West (which would, in turn, influence artistic production in their courts). However, an extant inventory of the stock taken on one important mission, to shore up Byzantium's clientage in central and southern Italy in 935, is not especially impressive: the most valuable items, apart from incense and unguents, were an onyx cup, glassware, silk cloth of several designs, and gilded silverware (Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, ed. J.J. Reiske [Bonn, 1829], p. 661; cf. Leyser, *art. cit.*, pp. 39-40).

considerable impression).¹² But this influence by Byzantine artists was limited in the main to certain formulae – the 'damp fold' for delineating drapery and indicating the corporeal forms concealed beneath it, the 3 or 4-shade contouring of faces, and (in the late twelfth century) agitated lines and exaggerated gestures for signifying emotion.¹³ Widespread imitation of these elements of Byzantine style did not make Western artists in general receptive to Byzantine iconography.¹⁴

Although art historians have emphasised that Byzantine influence was primarily stylistic, they have gone on to credit it with awakening an interest on the part of Western artists (but not on that of Byzantine artists) in the tactile values of the rounded human form and in the expression of emotions. They argue that Byzantine style was the catalyst which stimulated Western artists to turn to classical models for inspiration and thus helped on the development of the Gothic.¹⁵ The non-art historian, however, retains a certain scepticism, doubting whether the adoption of certain elements of the Byzantine manner had by itself so profound an effect on the perceptions and work of Western artists. For surely the impressive examples of Roman monumental sculpture and relief work avail-

¹² O. Demus, *op. cit.*, c.4.

¹³ K. Weitzmann, *art. cit.*, p.20; E. Kitzinger, 'The Byzantine Contribution to Western Art of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *DOP*, xx (1966), pp. 37-39; cf. C.M.Kauffmann's summary account of Byzantine influence on English manuscript illumination in the twelfth century, in G. Zarnecki, J. Holt and T. Holland (edd.), *English Romanesque Art 1066-1200* (London, 1984), pp.84-85. O. Demus, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-13, suggests that it was the very friability of Byzantine compositions, in which the highly complicated forms of Hellenistic art were broken down into their constituent parts, that made it easier for Western artists to make use of specific techniques or motifs.

¹⁴ Tamar Avner, however, believes (p. 297) that there was a continuous input of Byzantine Old Testament iconographic schemes into Western art in the middle ages.

¹⁵ K. Weitzmann, *art. cit.*, pp. 20-24, E. Kitzinger, *art. cit.*, pp. 37-43, and O. Demus, *op. cit.*, c.5 provide formidable, collective support for this view of Byzantine style as a vital catalyst in the formation of Gothic art, a view first propounded by W. Koehler, 'Byzantine Art in the West', *DOP*, i (1941), pp. 61-87.

able in the West might have aroused the initial interest in classical art as well as nourishing it for centuries to come. Surely it was these monuments rather than the formulae of Byzantine illuminators, which pressed the ideal of the human form as a solid, three-dimensional active organism, infused with emotion and energy, forcibly on the imaginations of Western beholders and acted as a direct influence on their sculpture and painting.¹⁶

It is paradoxical that the direct heirs of Graeco-Roman civilisation should have remained to such an extent trapped in the degraded culture of their own dark age, unable to draw inspiration from their classical and late antique heritage to enable them to break out, as the West did in the Carolingian and post-Carolingian age. It is less surprising that this educated elite resolutely refused to look to the Western sub-Roman kingdoms as another potential source of inspiration, even when they were becoming increasingly aware of their own cultural inferiority, as they were in the course of the twelfth century.¹⁷ A traditional disregard for foreign cultures, societies and economies (evident in the failure of Byzantine authors to write geographical works) was now transformed into intellectual chauvinism.¹⁸

Instead of widening their interests by translating and reading Latin works, Byzantines reacted defensively and explored their

¹⁶ Similar doubts are entertained but soon dismissed by O. Demus, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-168. Cf. also A. Bryer, *art. cit.*, pp. 77-78. The occupation of most of the Byzantine empire by the Fourth Crusade opened the way for a final pulse of Byzantine influence, once again primarily iconographic, to affect panel painting in Italy, as well as manuscript illumination in England and France in the thirteenth century (O. Demus, *op. cit.*, c.6 and Tamar Avner, pp. 302, 316-317 and n.29).

¹⁷ Michael Jeffreys, in his contribution to the lecture entitled 'The Cultural Cross-Fertilisation of the Twelfth Century and Its Byzantine Fruit' which he gave jointly with Elizabeth Jeffreys on 1st April, and Paul Magdalino (p. 196) both suggested that vociferous Byzantine claims to superiority were masking an underlying sense of inferiority.

¹⁸ For the meagre output of geographical writings, in which the predominant concern is antiquarian, see H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich, 1978), i, pp. 505-542..

own traditions (a point emphasised by Elizabeth Jeffreys in her unpublished lecture). Such interplay as there was between the literary cultures was probably very limited.¹⁹ A similar introversion of the Byzantine artistic world was implied by Hugo Buchthal (in his unpublished lecture). His survey of extant twelfth century works, both monumental and miniature, did not document any significant influence from contemporary developments in the Latin West, except perhaps for the more frequent appearance of painters' signatures from the 1180s.²⁰ The cultivation of Western manners by Manuel Comnenus did not therefore represent a general and genuine interest in Western culture. They were probably assumed in his court for political reasons, to attract Western clients and to head off concerted opposition in Europe.²¹ Hence it seems that cultural osmosis was probably confined to the ports and the seafarers of the Mediterranean (where it was manifested in the appearance of the *lingua franca*) and only started to reach into Byzantine urban society after the Fourth Crusade.²²

The second general conclusion is that Byzantium and the West were remarkably well disposed to each other throughout the period covered by the Symposium, given the many conflicts of political

¹⁹ Elizabeth Jeffreys in the joint lecture cited in n. 17 above. She does, however, suggest that knowledge of the rich and varied literature of twelfth century France, conveyed by Western travellers, may have helped stimulate Byzantine interest in vernacular poetry, and, possibly, in romance and epic (E.M. Jeffreys, 'The Comnenian Background to the "Romans d'Antiquité"', *B*, 1 [1980], pp. 482-486). Her thesis, which is seductive but, as she admits, far from conclusive, does not deny that Byzantine literature remained largely isolated from developments elsewhere.

²⁰ Hugo Buchthal in his lecture entitled 'Byzantine Art in the Twelfth Century: The Metropolis versus the Provinces', delivered on 31st March.

²¹ But see Paul Magdalino (pp. 189-191), who argues that Manuel himself genuinely liked Westerners and their ways.

²² A. Bryer, *art. cit.*, especially pp. 86-87 and 89-90 for limited osmosis within the Levantine sub-culture which was created in the twelfth century by the Latin, principally Italian, merchants in the East. Nicolas Oikonomides (pp. 327-332) for the penetration of a Western commercial ethos and of new humanistic attitudes into the elites of Byzantine cities, which he dates to the fourteenth century.

interest (most notably in Italy and central Europe) and the fundamental divergence in their social institutions and *mores* which had originated in classical antiquity but had been increased after the Germanic migrations and colonisation of the West. The underlying explanations are to be sought in both sides' awareness of their shared Roman past, of their common Christianity, and of the power of Islam which threatened them both.²³ This sense of solidarity was undoubtedly increased when Byzantium took the leading role in organising Christian operations against the fragmenting caliphate, from the foothills of the Caucasus to the southern shore of France, from the mid ninth to the second half of the tenth century. This Byzantine counter-offensive, and in particular the repeated interventions by Byzantine task forces in the central Mediterranean between 868 and 886 (which extruded the Arabs from the Adriatic and southern Italy and re-established firm Byzantine control over Apulia and Calabria) greatly enhanced Byzantium's standing throughout Italy and raised its prestige north of the Alps. This in turn helped the Eastern emperors gain a more or less grudging Western acknowledgement of their pre-eminence in Christendom and maintain an effective clientage in Italy.²⁴

T.S.Brown stresses the important contribution to Byzantine success made by elements in the elites of several Italian cities, but especially in that of Rome, who were hankering after a past when the Byzantine authorities had exercised a light control over the exarchate and who were receptive to Byzantine fashions and style.

²³ Liudprand's *Antapodosis* provides the clearest expression of this sense of common interest, as K. Leyser demonstrates (pp. 130-133). H.E.J. Cowdrey (pp. 148-150) for Western acknowledgement, as late as the end of the eleventh century, that both Byzantium and the discontinuous Western empire could legitimately claim descent from the Christian Roman empire.

²⁴ G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 217-298 for a general history of Byzantium's resurgence 842-976. K. Leyser, *art. cit.*, pp. 36-39 for the success achieved in Italy with strictly limited resources. T.S. Brown (pp.32-33, 38-39) for the growth in Byzantine prestige which resulted from direct intervention in the central Mediterranean 868-886 and which attained its peak after a combined Christian fleet under Byzantine leadership destroyed the Arab pirate base on the river Garigliano in 915.

Liudprand emerges in Karl Leyser's paper as a member of one such urban elite who expressed many of their attitudes. In the *Antapodosis* he presented Constantinople as the *caput* of a Christian world centred on the Mediterranean, and stressed the need for Christian solidarity in an intensifying confrontation with Islam. Even in the *Legatio*, virulently polemical though it was, he made no attempt to disguise his avid interest in things Byzantine (food, sauces, drink, dress, court life, court machines, the Greek language...). Constantine Porphyrogenitus is portrayed by Jonathan Shepard as reciprocating this Western regard for Byzantium. He expressed Byzantium's sense of affinity with the inhabitants of former Roman territories in the West, and harked back, as did influential Italians, to their co-operation against the Arabs in the second half of the ninth century.²⁵ The strains induced by Otto I's invasion of southern Italy in 968 and the Byzantine reaction to it, which are reflected in the hostile tone of Liudprand's *Legatio*, were soon eased, allowing Byzantium to exercise an unprecedented influence on the fashions and ceremonial of Otto III's court, as also on the style and idiom of diplomacy throughout northern Europe.²⁶

The decline in Byzantine power which began in the mid eleventh century and seemed likely in the 1080s to lead to the disintegration of the empire in Asia and Europe, did not affect an immediate transformation in the diplomatic relations between Byzantium and

²⁵ T.S. Brown (pp.30-31, 40-42, 43); Karl Leyser (pp.119-122, 130-133, 136); Jonathan Shepard (pp.87-94).

²⁶ P.E. Schramm, 'Kaiser, Basileus und Papst in der Zeit der Ottonen', in *Kaiser, Könige und Päpste*, iii (Stuttgart, 1969), pp. 200-245 for a general account of Byzantine - Ottonian political relations. W.Ohnsorge, 'Die Heirat Kaiser Ottos II. mit der Byzantinerin Theophano (972)' and 'Basileus, Kaiser und Sarazenen im Jahre 981/2', in *Ost-Rom und der Westen* (Darmstadt, 1983), pp. 128-201 gives a detailed account of negotiations before and after the crisis of 968-970, of the settlement agreed in 972, and of the subsequent, short-lived tension induced when, in 982, Otto II entered Byzantine territory in southern Italy to repel an Arab attack (an expedition which ended in defeat at Capo Colonne and in the ignominious rescue of Otto by a Byzantine warship). K. Leyser, *art. cit.*, pp. 41-46 for Byzantine influence north of the Alps.

the West.²⁷ Attitudes were only altered gradually as the balance of power shifted. The sense of affinity attested in the tenth century was not so attenuated in political circles by the late eleventh century that they could not envisage joint action against Islam. On the contrary, the emergence of the Seljuk empire as a great Moslem power in the Near East and the widespread disruption caused by its Turcoman auxiliaries brought the new Byzantine dynasty of the Comneni and the Gregorian papacy closer together. Religious differences as well as potential sources of conflict in traditional political stances were overridden as both sides worked to initiate the First Crusade, and by their combined efforts succeeded in bringing about the active military cooperation on a grand, Mediterranean scale which had been no more than a pipe dream among tenth century Byzantine policy-planners.²⁸

The First Crusade was probably the turning point. Not so much because the scale of it surprised the Byzantines, provoking suspicion and fear on their part. Not so much because such affinities as had been acknowledged, or conjured up by propagandists, over previous generations were all too likely to fray as larger numbers of Westerners met Byzantine subjects with different customs and codes of conduct and suffered all the irritations of dealing with a bureaucracy under stress. Friction of this sort had probably been generated ever since the land route had been re-opened in the early eleventh century, allowing pilgrims to move East in large numbers. Their reports of conditions there and of their treatment had doubtless dispelled many illusions about the East Romans. It was rather because a growing popular antipathy in the West was suddenly reinforced by cold contempt on the part of the leaders of the First

²⁷ M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204. A Political History* (London-New York, 1984) for a general history of Byzantium in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

²⁸ The chief religious differences concerning the nature of the primacy claimed by the pope and the addition of the *Filioque* to the Nicene Creed are discussed by Dimitri Obolensky (pp. 61-63). H.E.J. Cowdrey (*passim*) for the rapprochement between Byzantium and the papacy. Jonathan Shepard (pp. 90-93) for pipe dreaming in the tenth century.

Crusade, after Alexius Comnenus and the Byzantine high command had calculated the odds and left the Crusaders to their fate at Antioch in 1098.²⁹

Alexius and John Comnenus made strenuous diplomatic efforts to prevent Western antagonism developing into open political confrontation, and to isolate the Normans, who were the most hardened among their enemies. The price for skewing their foreign policy towards containment of the Westerners in Outremer and in Europe was high – a delay, lasting a generation, in the military counter-offensive against the Turkish dynasties and Turcoman tribes established in central Anatolia whose presence threatened Byzantine control of the surrounding highlands and coastlands. But they were remarkably successful in achieving their central aims of breaking the power of Bohemond Prince of Antioch (by 1108), of obtaining recognition of their suzerainty from Antioch itself (in 1137), and of improving relations with the West.³⁰ Thanks to these successes,

²⁹ K. Leyser, *art. cit.*, pp. 46-47 for the renewal of overland travel through Hungary in the first quarter of the eleventh century. Compared to this, the increase in traffic along the two main Balkan roads in the ninth century, signs of which are detected by Dimitri Obolensky (pp. 53-59), was insignificant, and was, in any case, soon brought to a sudden end by the Magyar invasion of Hungary in the 890s. Jonathan Shepard (pp. 94-98) for increasing dislike of Westerners in Byzantium in the eleventh century. *Annales Altahenenses Maiores*, ed. W. Giesebrecht and E. von Oefele, *MGH, SS*, xx (Hanover, 1868), p. 815, for one report of bad treatment in Constantinople and Asia Minor, that sent back by Gunther Bishop of Bamberg, one of the leaders of the German pilgrimage of 1064-5. S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, i *The First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1951), pp. 230-240 for Alexius' decision; cf. also M. Angold, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-141.

³⁰ The first systematic attempt to erode Turkish power was made by John Comnenus in 1130-1136. The return for these years of sustained military pressure on the northern edge of the Anatolian plateau was meagre, the only notable success being the recovery of Kastamonu. But the ultimate aim of undermining the prestige of the Danishmend and Seljuk dynasties and of transforming Turks and Turcomans into reliable clients was not abandoned until after Manuel Comnenus' defeat at Myriokephalon in 1176. M. Angold, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-160 is surely right to argue that the recovery of Anatolia and the restoration of the Euphrates frontier were central aims of Byzantine foreign policy under the Comneni, but that Alexius' entanglement with the Normans after the Antioch affair initiated a preoccupation with the West, which, though essential for the

Manuel Comnenus was in a position to envisage restoring Byzantium to its former ascendancy through gesture politics on a heroic scale. His flamboyant and extraordinarily skilful orchestration of foreign policy involved the relegation of military and naval action to the subordinate role of backing diplomacy and propaganda. Undoubtedly it impressed Western Europe and helped prevent the formation of a grand anti-Byzantine coalition under the leadership of Frederick Barbarossa, as well as generating the publicity which he needed to secure his own position in Byzantium. It was only towards the end of his reign that this effort to maintain the international *status quo* began to fail, when his military and naval resources were exposed as inadequate and his offensive against the Seljuks ended in defeat, at Myriokephalon in 1176. Thereafter, their prestige undermined, Manuel and his successors found it difficult to sustain their influence in the West and to maintain their authority over the restive peoples of the Balkans.³¹

Finally, this volume confirms and elaborates Philip Grierson's general conclusion, based on his survey of East-West relations from the sixth to the early ninth centuries, that the large amount of ideological baggage carried by Byzantium had relatively little effect on policy-planners, who operated in the real world and were ready to sacrifice the views of political theorists whenever there was a practical gain to be made. The argument is put most forcibly by Jonathan Shepard, who presents Byzantine policies towards Western rulers as varying according to their utility and as shaped by immediate and longer-term security considerations. It receives support

security of the empire in the short term, proved very damaging to its longer-term interests.

³¹ Paul Magdalino (*passim*). However, in viewing (pp.180-181) Manuel's great eastern expeditions (to Syria in 1158-9, to Egypt in 1169, and against Iconium in 1176) as no more than isolated demonstrations of force, he perhaps goes too far in playing down their significance. M. Angold, *op.cit.*, pp.184-195 for an account of Manuel's eastern policy, in which he lays more stress on Manuel's hopes of imposing a measure of authority on the Seljuks and argues that an important motive behind his cultivation of good relations with the crusader states was to increase the political pressure on the Turks. M. Angold, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-283 for the gradual unravelling of the empire after Manuel's death.

from several other contributors, notably from Paul Magdalino. He argues that Manuel Comnenus' imperialist stance did not reflect the rationale underlying his foreign policy but was assumed, in a defensive reaction, to counter the propaganda emanating from Frederick Barbarossa's court where ancient models were evoked and universalist claims were put forward as part of a serious attempt to seize control of the crusading movement.³²

Byzantium is portrayed in this volume as pursuing a clear-sighted, calculating *Realpolitik* in the West. It is true that memories of the Roman past contributed to Byzantine interest in Rome and Italy. But there were real and pressing reasons for Byzantine involvement. As a maritime power, Byzantium needed to control the Adriatic (through its Venetian client-state) and the central Mediterranean (through a permanent naval presence in the south) if the security of its home waters in the Aegean was to be assured.³³ As a society with a long memory, all too aware of its vulnerability in a world of unending political flux, it had long recognised the importance of monitoring events in remote regions and had been prepared to intervene to inhibit the formation of potentially dangerous coalitions, from the south Russian steppes to the western Mediterranean.³⁴ As a Christian power, which recognized the pre-eminence of the papacy among the patriarchates, Byzantium was naturally concerned to maintain contact with Rome and, if possible, to exercise some influence over the popes through manipulation of a faction in the city.³⁵ These considerations ensured that Byzantium

³² P. Grierson, 'The Carolingian Empire in the Eyes of Byzantium', *Settimane di studio*, xxvii, 2 (1981), pp. 885-916, especially p. 914; Jonathan Shepard (pp. 67-68, 70-71; Paul Magdalino (p. 189).

³³ Jonathan Shepard (pp. 76-77).

³⁴ Jonathan Shepard (pp. 83-85). The construction of the fortress of Sarkel on the lower Don in the 830s provides a striking example of Byzantium's sensitivity to the emergence of distant powers, if, as seems likely, Sarkel was intended to strengthen Khazar defences against the Viking Rus or the Magyars (see D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* [London, 1971], pp. 175-176).

³⁵ Dimitri Obolensky (pp. 61-62) for Byzantine acknowledgement of papal primacy, which was not envisaged as entailing acceptance of papal authority – although Romanus Lecapenus came perilously close to authorising papal inter-

was ready to fight to retain its traditional possessions in the south (and thus to secure its naval bases) and that it was involved in Italian politics, so as to maintain a network of clients. For local clients could add to the security of the Byzantine provinces, could supplement the meagre resources they yielded, and could apply pressure, external and internal, on the papacy.³⁶ Behind the barrage of his propaganda, Manuel Comnenus was pursuing time-honoured policies in the traditional manner, but without the advantage of a bridge-head in the south.³⁷

It was true that Byzantine emperors prized their special position as the direct inheritors of ancient Roman imperial authority and were reluctant to recognise the claims of powerful Western rulers to imperial status. But they were not ideologically hidebound. They were ready to negotiate (as well as to engage in megaphone diplomacy) with their great Western rivals, Charlemagne and Otto I. And, in the end, after a limited period of political hostility, they were ready to compromise on questions of status in return for substantial material concessions.³⁸ They were prepared to recognise the imperial title of the pre-eminent ruler in the region which

vention in the affairs of the Eastern patriarchates when he delayed the installation of his son Theophylact as patriarch until papal legates arrived to conduct the ceremony on 2nd February 933 (see S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign* [Cambridge, 1963], pp. 76-77). K. Leyser, *art.cit.*, pp. 38-39 and T.S.Brown (pp.38-39) for the presence of a pro-Byzantine faction in Rome in the tenth century.

³⁶ K. Leyser, *art.cit.*, pp. 36-39; Jonathan Shepard (pp. 75-76); J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile I^{er} jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands* (Paris, 1904) still provides the best account of Byzantine policy towards southern Italy from the ninth to the eleventh century.

³⁷ M. Angold, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-184; Paul Magdalino (pp. 180, 184-186).

³⁸ *Contra* Leyser, *art. cit.*, p. 34, who, following the consensus among Byzantinists, suggests that Byzantium prized the maintenance of appearances above normal political considerations and therefore viewed frontiers and other interests as negotiable provided the other parties were ready to accept the conventions of an ideal order of relationships fashioned in Byzantium. He does, however, note that there was some irony in the Franco-Byzantine settlement of 812 when it was Charlemagne who made the territorial concessions in return for Byzantine endorsement of his imperial title.

had once been the Western half of the late Roman empire, in exchange for the return by Charlemagne of Venetia to their clientage in 812, or the cessation of Ottonian military pressure on their possessions in the south in 972. Both these bouts of open ideological confrontation were thus brought to an end by political settlements, under which a Western guarantee for Byzantine possessions in Italy was traded for Byzantine recognition of the great power status of a temporarily dominant Germanic dynasty.³⁹

The settlement agreed with Otto I, and sealed by a marriage alliance, established a stable framework for the co-existence of the two empires. Byzantium was resigned to the existence of a Western empire, as long as its own legitimacy was not questioned. The Gregorian papacy's manoeuvres in the late eleventh century to summon up aid, spiritual and material, for the beleaguered Christian peoples of the Near East can best be understood, as H.E.J. Cowdrey shows, against this background of mutual accommodation and, in particular, of papal respect for the seniority of the Byzantine emperors whose succession had been uninterrupted since Constantine the Great.⁴⁰ The propaganda war between the courts of Frederick Barbarossa and Manuel Comnenus after 1157 was as intense and as prolonged as any of the preceding confrontations, precisely because real interests were once again involved. Barbarossa's determination to assume active leadership of the crusading movement and to follow Conrad's example of intervening in person in the Near East clearly posed a serious direct threat to Byzantium in its home region (although in the end it did not materialise when he led the Third Crusade in 1189). The images

³⁹ For an introduction to the large bibliography on these two dramatic episodes in East-West relations and for a clear analysis of the two sets of negotiations, see Grierson, *art. cit.*, pp. 905-912 and W. Ohnsorge, 'Die Heirat Kaiser Ottos II. mit der Byzantinerin Theophano (972)', in *Ost-Rom und der Westen* (Darmstadt, 1983), pp. 128-147.

⁴⁰ H.E.J. Cowdrey (pp. 146-150). Cf. also Jonathan Shepard (pp. 102-116) who suggests that Alexius Comnenus played a greater part in initiating the First Crusade than is commonly thought and that Anna Comnena sets out deliberately to conceal it.

evoked, from the Roman past and the apocalyptic future, should be seen therefore as rhetorical flourishes in a war of words rather than as indications of a fundamental clash of ideology.⁴¹

Byzantine emperors not only claimed a special place in the world as senior Roman emperors, they also claimed a special relationship with God, which in turn gave them a peculiar mission on His behalf in the material world. The emperors presented themselves as appointed by God. The annual round of court ceremonies was carefully ordered so as to provide an earthly analogue to the harmonious movement of the universe. Their subjects were a chosen people, whose future was guaranteed by God's favour (notwithstanding occasional bouts of anger at their sins) and whose duty it was to spread the true religion into the remoter reaches of the material world.⁴² The emperors claimed to be pre-eminent among earthly rulers, because of their favoured status, and naturally sought (like the rulers of the other great powers) to maintain a cer-

⁴¹ Paul Magdalino (pp. 184-189).

⁴² H. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1975) traces the development of Byzantine political thought from the establishment of Christianity to the fall of Constantinople to the Turks, taking due account of the way in which particular themes came to the fore in different circumstances (for example, the theme of Byzantium as a chosen people fighting for Christianity, which predominated in the eighth and the first half of the ninth century). She does, however, give ideology a more prominent part in shaping Byzantine foreign policy, than it is allowed in this volume. The idea of the emperor as the favoured representative of God on earth was ultimately derived from Eusebius, who introduced it into his *Panegyric to Constantine*, delivered on the thirtieth anniversary of Constantine's accession (25th July 336) before a large audience in the palace. His speech was a virtuoso performance and made use of two distinct conceits to glorify the emperor: (i) he was portrayed as ruling over an earthly replica of the kingdom of heaven, patterning himself on the divine model of monarchical rule; (ii) he was presented as the friend and ally of Christ, who fought with Him in the victorious war against the demons (see T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* [Cambridge, Mass., 1981], pp. 253-255). Constantine Porphyrogenitus, by contrast, viewed the court, not the empire, as the earthly replica of heaven (*De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae, proemium*, ed. and tr. A. Vogt [Paris, 1935-40], i. p.2). D.Obolensky, 'The Principles and Methods of Byzantine Diplomacy', *Actes du XIIe congrès international d'études byzantines*, i (Belgrade, 1963), pp. 55-56 stresses the missionary role of the Byzantine empire.

tain *hauteur* in their dealings with foreign peoples.⁴³

But it is probably misguided to suppose that they had a single clearly defined theoretical view of the world, according to which they presided over a hierarchy of nations and princes, itself paralleling the hierarchy of heaven and their own hieratic bureaucracy. Even more so to suppose that they made this view public by bestowing on these subordinate rulers marks of status appropriate to their station in this ideal order.⁴⁴ The public distribution of specific honours intended to rank individual rulers in a stratified and rela-

⁴³ The pre-eminence of the emperors (the senior emperor and any co-emperors) in the *oikoumene* was a familiar refrain in the acclamations prescribed for court ceremonies (see Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, ed. and tr. A. Vogt [Paris, 1935-40], *passim*). On occasions when they hoped to gain by pulling rank, Byzantines were ready publicly to claim superior status for the empire in the course of negotiations. The Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus did so three times in the course of his long correspondence with Symeon ruler of Bulgaria during the 913-927 war (Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople, *Letters*, no. 8, 11, 47-48, no. 21, 11, 44-46, and no. 25, 1, 107, ed. and tr. R.J. H.Jenkins and L.G.Westerink [Washington, D.C., 1973], pp. 48, 144, 178). Another example can be found in a condescending letter written, probably in 937, by the Emperor Romanus Lecapenus to the Ikshid emir of Egypt, in which (to judge from the emir's reply) Romanus said that it was demeaning for emperors, whose empire had been given to them by a special favour of God and would last as long as the world lasted, to communicate directly with subordinates of the caliph (see A.A.Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, ii, 1 [Brussels, 1968], pp. 279-281 [commentary] and ii, 2 [Brussels, 1950], pp. 203-213 [French translation of the text]). However such *hauteur* could easily be discarded: see, for example, the Patriarch Nicholas' acknowledgement of the caliph's parity of status ('there are two lordships, that of the Saracens and that of the Romans, which stand above all lordship on earth, and shine out like the two mighty beacons in the firmament', *Letters*, no. 1, 11, 16-18, p. 2). And claims to pre-eminence never entailed any general questioning of the legitimacy of foreign rulers' power, which, Byzantines accepted, was assigned directly to them by God (see, for example, Nicholas I Patriarch, *Letters*, no. 1, 11, 3-6, p.2).

⁴⁴ G.A. Ostrogorsky, 'Die byzantinische Staatenhierarchie', *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, viii (1936), pp. 49-53 provides the first and best formulation of the thesis that Byzantium superimposed its own ideal ranking system on the shifting political configuration of the world. He introduces a minor qualification in his English version ('The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World Order', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, xxxv [1956-7], pp. 1-14): he concedes (p.12) that positions within the hierarchy were not fixed with absolute precision and, in time, could be considerably altered; but the emphasis remains on a high degree of stratification and inertia within the system. Ostrogorsky's thesis has gained wide support among Byzantinists.

tively inflexible hierarchy would have impeded the implementation of realistic, pragmatic policies. It would have alienated all foreign princes who questioned their placing relative to that of others (surely the majority) and it would have prevented Byzantium from adapting rapidly to the continuous change evident in the political relations between neighbouring nations.⁴⁵

Byzantine emperors did indeed bestow honours, as well as exotic gifts, money, property, office and marriage alliances, on foreign rulers in the West as in other arenas of diplomacy, but they did so in order to attract or retain some in their network of clientage and to maintain good relations with others who were recognised as independent. This use of honours was a consistent feature of Byzantine diplomacy in the West from Basil I to Manuel Comnenus. It was one of their most effective diplomatic weapons. But every effort was made to obscure distinctions, by combining different marks of approbation into deliberately confusing amalgams, and to register real political changes in the status of rulers immediately in the particular composite honorific forms with which they were to be addressed. There was thus no *system* of honours, and no attempt was made to impose a predetermined ideal world-view on a complex, recalcitrant, ever-changing world.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Byzantines were well aware of the trouble which might be caused by too clear a system of precedence. Thus at a dinner given on 29th June 968 there was no disguising the relative ranking of the Bulgar and Ottonian ambassadors, and Liudprand left the table, indignant that he, a bishop, had been placed below the Bulgar who, he imputed, was no more than a catechumen and whose hair was cut in the Hungarian manner (*Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana*, cc. 19-20, ed. J. Becker, *Liudprandi Opera*, MGH, SRG [Hanover-Leipzig, 1915], pp. 185-186). Constantine Porphyrogenitus records another case, where preferential treatment of one Armenian prince led to complaints from two others together with the curopalate of Iberia in 922-3 (*De Administrando Imperio*, c. 43, 11. 109-117, ed. Gy. Moravcsik and tr. R.J.H. Jenkins [Washington, D.C., 1967], p. 194).

⁴⁶ Ostrogorsky reconstructs the ideal hierarchy of princes out of a list of protocols giving the correct forms for addressing a wide range of foreign rulers, a list which is preserved in Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Cerimoniis Aulae Byzantinae*, ii, 48, ed. J.J. Reiske (Bonn, 1829), i, pp. 686-692. A full, critical reappraisal of these protocols is an urgent *desideratum*. The only clear distinc-

Byzantium's handicap was too little, not too much ideology. Its varied stock of self-images, inherited from late antiquity and supplemented by the publicists of later emperors, was not distilled into a coherent and consistently applied ideology of renewal or reconquest or holy war or imperialist expansion which could act as the driving force of Byzantine foreign policy in the Near East or the Balkans or the West. It was viewed rather as a rich source of material for the imperial propaganda which was to be disseminated to buttress the position of the autocracy within the empire and to support carefully co-ordinated and limited diplomatic and military actions abroad. Ideological detritus was thus recycled in service of a foreign policy which was governed by the cautious pragmatism instilled during the dark age. It could not provide the impetus for a determined global offensive against Islam in its century of weakness, from the mid tenth to the mid eleventh century.⁴⁷

tion drawn in them is that between client rulers (who are confined to Armenia, Caucasia, southern Italy together with the *archon* of Sardinia and the *dux* of Venetia, and the Balkans) who receive 'commands' and those over whom no suzerainty is claimed and who receive 'letters'. It is upon the latter that honorific titles are bestowed. Every attempt is made to be even-handed: thus the title 'prince of princes' which is accorded to one of the two premier princes of Armenia (the Artsruni) is offset by a new title (*protos*, 'first') and a spiritual tie (sonship) which are granted to the other (the Bagratid); the same honorific title *περιφανέστατος* (a Byzantine neologism) is bestowed on both of them (p. 686, 1.22-p. 687, 1.8) – a title which brackets them together with the chagan of Chazaria who also receives it (p. 690, 11.16-21) and distinguishes them from the leading ruler in Iberia (Georgia), the *curopalate* (p. 687, 11.16-18), who is called *ἐνδοξότατος* (equivalent to the high-ranking late Roman senatorial title *gloriosissimus*). A good example of deliberate obfuscation can be found in the titles bestowed on Germanic *reges* (those of Sazonia, Baioure, Gallia, Germania and Francia [p. 689, 11.4-12 and p. 691, 11.13-20]). They are simultaneously honoured as spiritual brothers and given the relatively low-ranking title *περίβλεπτος* (equivalent to the late Roman senatorial title *spectabilis*). The *princeps* of Rome (p. 689, 11.12-14), by contrast, has no spiritual tie but is designated *ἐνδοξότατος* (*gloriosissimus*) like the *curopalate* of Iberia and the *emir* of Africa (p. 689, 11.14-18). There is much evidence of modification to the protocols to keep them up to date. For late Roman senatorial titles, see O. Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin, 1913), pp. 662-674.

⁴⁷ There is one notable piece of apparently contrary evidence, a document written in Arabic which is attributed to Nicephorus Phocas and was purportedly sent to the Caliph al-Muti. After enumerating the successes achieved by Byzantine

Even the idea of Roman imperial rule, which provided the ultimate rationale for the existence of a state embracing such diverse and far-flung peoples, was losing force in the mid twelfth century. Hence the frantiness as well as the theatricality of Manuel Comnenus' stunts and gestures, hence his ultimate failure to halt the dilution of imperial authority and prestige at home and abroad which opened the way for the Fourth Crusade. It was ironic but far from inexplicable that, in the final stage in the process of ideological and political disintegration, it was Byzantium's oldest and formerly most stalwart Western client, Venice, which took the leading role in directing the Fourth Crusade to Constantinople.⁴⁸

arms up to and including 962, it lays down specific objectives for future campaigns – viz. Bagdad, Ray and Shiraz, Khurasan, Mecca, Yaman and Jerusalem. This was tantamount to a declaration by the Christian Roman empire of its intention of destroying the caliphate in the East. It is highly unlikely that this is a genuine Byzantine document. The predictable effect — to fan the flames of *jihād* in the Islamic world — was the last thing the Byzantine government wanted. This effect was probably achieved, since a strike-force of 8,000 Khurasani volunteers marched west in winter 963-4 to relieve Tarsus, premier city of the *jihād*, which was subject to increasing Byzantine military pressure. The document was surely a piece of Arab disinformation, manufactured in 963 in a desperate bid to recruit *jihād*-fighters to halt the Byzantine advance across Cilicia. For the text, translation and commentary, in which the document is accepted as authentic and dated to October 966, see G. von Grünebaum, 'Eine poetische Polemik zwischen Byzanz und Bagdad im x. Jahrhundert', *Analecta Orientalia*, xiv (1937), pp. 41-64; for the Khurasani strike-force see M. Canard, *Histoire de la Dynastie des H'amdānides de Jazīra et de Syrie*, i (Algiers, 1953), pp. 816-820. Byzantine sources do not suggest that Nicephorus Phocas, the most determinedly offensive general among Byzantine emperors, went further (and that was too far for the church authorities) than seeking to instil a heightened sense of Christian commitment into his own troops so as to improve their fighting qualities, and attempting to realise some of the rather forlorn hopes expressed by Leo VI that Byzantium might imitate some features of Islamic *jihād* (see G. Dagron, 'Byzance et le modèle islamique au x^e siècle. A propos des *Constitutions tactiques* de l'empereur Léon VI', *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* [1983], pp. 229-232).

⁴⁸ M. Angold, *op. cit.*, pp. 263-296.

I

THE BACKGROUND OF BYZANTINE RELATIONS WITH ITALY IN THE NINTH CENTURY: LEGACIES, ATTACHMENTS AND ANTAGONISMS

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Among the many scholars who have grappled with problems of relations between East and West in the early middle ages one of the most perceptive was Peter Classen. Shortly before his tragically early death he concluded his paper at the 1979 Spoleto *Settimana di Studio* with the observation:

Italien wird zu einem Teil Europas, zugleich aber auch zu einer Brücke zwischen Byzanz und Europa.¹

This paper will attempt to examine the foundations which made that bridge so strong. The nature of relations between the West and Byzantium around the eighth and ninth centuries will be considered very much from the Italian viewpoint, and predominantly from the viewpoint of northern and central Italy, the areas of that diverse peninsula most fully integrated into the new Western Europe which was being given political unity and ideological cohesion by the Carolingians.²

1. P. Classen, 'Italien zwischen Byzanz und dem Frankenreich', *Settimane di Studio*, xxvii (1981); p. 916.
2. Since the bibliography on issues dealt with in this paper is vast, and since the author intends to consider some of the questions at greater length elsewhere, the references given here are far from exhaustive. A detailed examination of Byzantine relations with Italy in the period up to 800 can be found in T.S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy, A.D. 554-800* (London, 1984), especially chapter 8. Also useful are A. Guillou, *Régionalisme et Indépendance dans l'empire byzantin au VIIe siècle: L'exemple de l'Exarchat et de la Pentapole d'Italie* (Rome, 1969), and G. Cavallo et al., *I Bizantini in Italia* (Milan, 1982), especially pp. 1-136 (contribution by V. von Falkenhausen).

Classen's remarks echo a statement made in a letter attributed to the early eighth-century Pope Gregory II:

The pontiffs have... ruled in order to maintain peace like a common wall occupying the middle ground between East and West.³

This remark is a reminder that there was an awareness of a distinction between East and West long before the collapse of Byzantine power in Italy or the coronation of Charlemagne as emperor in 800. A vivid example of this occurred during the trial of Abbot Maximus the Confessor in the mid-seventh century, who was accused of supporting the revolt of the Exarch Gregory of Africa. Maximus was said to have claimed in Rome that he had had a vision of choirs of angels from East and West acclaiming Gregory as emperor, with the western voices drowning out the eastern. Latin antagonism towards the 'deceitful' and 'unmanly' Greeks was a commonplace of the Roman world, as a brief perusal of Juvenal will confirm. During the course of the Gothic wars in the sixth century Ostrogothic spokesmen were able to exploit very effectively the Italians' suspicions of their Greek 'liberators'. This antipathy was rendered more acute by linguistic barriers. In a period when the empire ruled from Constantinople was becoming increasingly Greek in language and ethnic composition, Greek had become almost unknown in Italy. Whether or not Pope Gregory the Great knew the language (he himself clearly states his ignorance of it), the dismal level of knowledge in Rome was one reason for the enthusiastic welcome given by the Roman Church to eastern immigrants who could help handle its necessary dealings with the Byzantine emperor and the eastern churches. A telling incident occurred in Ravenna, the capital of the Byzantine province, in the late seventh century, when the exarch could not find a single inhabitant capable of translating his official correspondence until he happened upon a learned youth whom he promptly appointed as his secretary.⁴

3. J.Gouillard, 'Aux origines de l'iconoclasme: le témoignage de Grégoire II', *Travaux et Mémoires*, iii (1968), p.295.

4. Detailed discussion in Brown, *Gentlemen*, especially pp.144-63.

Examples of such ignorance and hostility could be multiplied for the whole period of Byzantine rule in the peninsula.⁵ Italy, the cradle of the Roman empire, which had loomed so large in Justinian's plans for political reconquest and ideological reunification, was reduced to a remote backwater, the North-West Frontier of a beleaguered empire. Practical factors were important here, such as the disturbing of communications first by the Slavs and later by the Arabs, the colossal internal and external problems facing the empire close to home and, most serious for the Italian subjects themselves, the ever-present danger from the Lombards, who conquered most of the peninsula in the late sixth century and restricted the empire's territory to the area of Rome, Romagna and the Marches, plus a few coastal enclaves in the North-East and the South.⁶

These conditions placed a severe strain on the empire's ties with Italy, but the stages and factors in the general process of uncoupling are too complex to examine in detail here.⁷ Fiscal problems created recurrent difficulties, since administrative resources were inadequate, troops' pay fell into arrears and deeply resented increases in taxation were imposed. Complaints of official oppression became widespread, especially as administrative intervention from the centre became more and more sporadic and arbitrary. Religious differences gave rise to serious conflicts, sometimes over church usages or the question of primacy but more usually over the emperor's forays into doctrinal matters, such as their espousal of monotheletism in the seventh century and iconoclasm in the eighth. These anti-Constantinopolitan feelings found expression in thirteen major revolts between 616 and 751, and these lend credence to Roberto Cessi's remark that the government of the exarchate was

5. It should be pointed out that the position is quite different for the second period of Byzantine rule, which ran from 876 to 1071 and extended only over the southern part of the peninsula. In particular direct political authority was generally stronger and was backed up by cultural hellenization and Greek settlement which was strong in some areas: V. von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina nell'Italia bizantina* (Bari, 1978).

6. Brown, *Gentlemen*, *passim*.

7. *Ibid.*, especially pp. 159-63.

destroyed, not by the Lombards, but by the Italians.⁸

However it would be wrong to give too gloomy a picture of unremitting hostility leading to inevitable separation. There was no lack of imperial interest in Italy, as is shown by the fact that 76 out of 337 imperial documents recorded in Dölger's *Regesten* concern the peninsula. This concern was not shared by Byzantine writers, whose rare references to the peninsula usually deal with the religious stance of the popes. Pontiffs from Gregory the Great's time until the middle of the eighth century made genuine attempts to reinforce loyalty to the empire, and on a ritual level imperial portraits and symbols, ecclesiastical liturgy and ceremonial shows of allegiance were widely used to foster devotion to the universal God-appointed emperor. In formulae of the papal chancery hopes were expressed for the triumph of the *respublica christiana* and Italy was characterized as a devoted (*servilis*) province. One can, however, detect a routine quality, a lack of intensity, in these practices which contrasts with the enthusiasm for such unifying rites in the East. In the case of saints' cults, while the state could tap the cult of the Virgin as protectress of Constantinople, in Italy patrons such as St. Peter and St. Apollinaris became the focus of local allegiances which assumed an increasingly anti-Greek tinge.⁹

But the most remarkable fact about Byzantine Italy is that, against all odds, it survived for a long time. On an ideological plane this is explicable on the ground that rejection of the universal Christian empire was simply unthinkable, especially when the main alternative was the 'barbarian' kingdom of the Lombards, still heretical until the late seventh century. On a political and military level the province's survival was due partly to the evolution of effective administrative structures analogous to those of the themes in the East, but more importantly to the behaviour of the key element in lay society, the military officials. Although most were easterners or German mercenaries by origin, they soon put down

8. R. Cessi, 'La crisi dell' esarcato ravennate all' inizio dell' Iconoclastia', *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, xliii (1933-1944), p. 1671.

9. Brown, *Gentlemen*, pp. 148-50; 155-9; cf. also A. Guillou, 'L'Italia bizantina. *Douleia e Oikeiosis*', *Bullettino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano*, lxxxviii (1967), pp. 1-20.

local roots, identified with local interests and consolidated a virtual monopoly of political and economic power. They came to ally themselves with indigenous civilian and ecclesiastical elements, and in these conditions an intensely Roman (that is non-Greek) character emerged. Largely free from control by the emperor or even his viceroy the exarch but enjoying the prestige of imperial dignities such as consul, this by now acclimatized elite maintained a privileged position which it was keen to defend. For most of the Byzantine period the empire's Italian subjects possessed a large measure of autonomy and a cosy *modus vivendi* with Constantinople. These 'contradictions' only came into the open when the Isaurians pursued ill-advised religious and fiscal measures, and worse still, failed in their duty to defend Italy against a newly expansionist Lombard monarchy.¹⁰

These developments, combined with the increasingly independent political and religious aspirations of the papacy, led to the disintegration of Byzantine authority, the loss of Ravenna in 751 and the Roman see's summoning in of the Franks as protectors. The intricate events of the following half-century, which culminate in the coronation of Charlemagne by Pope Leo III in 800, have been carefully, perhaps over-minutely, studied by historians. Three points ought to be stressed. Firstly that at least the initial overtures of the popes to Pepin III were made with the approval of the imperial government, which for decades retained a serious interest in recovering the Exarchate. Secondly the papacy was slow in casting off its allegiance to the Byzantine emperors; only in the pontificate of Hadrian I (772-795) did the dating of documents by their regnal years and the minting of Byzantine coins cease. Thirdly, there is no evidence for any social or political upheaval affecting the position of the elite of military landowners either in the Rome area or in the Exarchate.¹¹

10. Brown, *Gentlemen*, pp.61-81, 130-43, 159-63.

11. *Ibid.*, pp.217-8, 221; P. Classen, 'Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz', in *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. W. Braunsfels, i (Dusseldorf, 1965), pp.537-608. Of particular importance are the studies of O. Bertolini, e.g. 'Il problema delle origini del potere temporale dei papi nei suoi presupposti teoretici iniziali: il concetto di "*restitutio*" nelle prime cessioni territoriali alla

An equally vast literature has been devoted to the momentous consequences of Charlemagne's coronation in 800, the development of a Western *Europabegriff*, the boost given to the papal hierocratic view of Christian society or the distinct Christian, Roman and Frankish element absorbed into the Carolingian notion of empire over the following decades. Of particular interest here are the relations between the two empires – the famous *Zweikaiserproblem* learnedly studied by Dölger, Ohnsorge and others.¹²

More central to our concerns are the nature and extent of practical Byzantine influence on Italy in the ninth century. Here once more Peter Classen is worth quoting. In his magisterial contribution to the *Karl der Grosse* volumes he concluded that:

Schien sich ihr zeitweiliges Nachgeben, ihre Oikonomia, gegenüber Karl bewährte zu haben. Ihr Einfluß in Italien war größer als vor den Auftreten Karls des Großen.¹³

This apparently paradoxical view is undoubtedly correct, but the position was far from constant throughout the century. For the first half Byzantium's position was relatively weak because of dynastic uncertainties, the second wave of iconoclasm, the revolt of Thomas the Slav, and Arab and Bulgar pressure. The balance was tipped in the 840s when a culturally and politically resurgent Byzantine state emerged which contrasted sharply with a Western 'empire' split

Chiesa di Roma (756-7)', 'Sergio arcivescovo di Ravenna (744-769) e i papi del suo tempo', and 'Le prime manifestazioni concrete del potere temporale dei papi nell'esarcato di Ravenna (756-7)', in *Scritti Scelti di Storia Medievale*, ii (Livorno, 1968), pp.487-547, 551-91, 595-612.

12. F.Dölger, 'Byzanz und das Abendland vor den Kreuzzügen', *PARASPORA*. 30 Aufsätze zur Geschichte (Ettal, 1961), pp.73-106; W.Ohnsorge, *Das Zweikaiserproblem im früheren Mittelalter* (Hildesheim, 1947); *idem*, *Abendland und Byzanz* (Darmstadt, 1958); *idem*, *Konstantinopel und der Okzident* (Darmstadt, 1966); J.Deer, 'Zur Praxis der Verleihung des auswärtigen Patriziats durch den byzantinischen Kaiser', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, viii (1970), pp.7-25; *idem*, *Byzanz und das Abendlandische Herrschertum. Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Sigmaringen, 1977); R.Folz, *The Coronation of Charlemagne* (London, 1974). The Byzantine reaction has been examined by P.Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople* (Oxford, 1958), P.Grierson, 'The Carolingian Empire in the eyes of Byzantium', *Settimane di Studio*, xxvii (1981), pp.885-916, P.Niavis, *The Reign of the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus I* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1984), pp.219-46.

13. Classen, 'Karl der Grosse' (cited at n.11), p.608.

into a number of kingdoms, assailed by Viking and Muslim invaders and desperately keen to legitimate its position by a number of means, including marriage alliances with the East.¹⁴

The new-found power of Byzantium is most evident of course in the South. There the local Lombard rulers had long looked to the East as a counter to Frankish expansion, and Byzantine opportunities were increased by internecine rivalry between local rulers and by their desire for a defender against the Arabs, who proceeded from their invasion of Sicily in 827 to harry the Italian coast and to occupy Taranto and Bari. At first the Byzantines acted in desultory cooperation with the Carolingian Louis II, but after his death in 875 they extended their authority over Bari and most of Apulia and Calabria, assisted by the migration of Greek refugees from Sicily. Byzantine naval power was such an important factor that the popes made repeated calls for its assistance against the Arabs, and Byzantine prestige attained a new peak when a combined Christian fleet eliminated the Arab pirate nest on the River Garigliano in 915. Confirmation of the carefully planned and pragmatic policy of the Byzantines in the South may be found in the well-informed and realistic accounts found in the works of Constantine VII, especially the *Vita Basilii*, and in the letters of the Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus.¹⁵

Reactions to the new power of the South varied. While most of the Lombard principalities acknowledged Byzantine hegemony, the anonymous author of the *Chronicle of Salerno* viewed with

14. The position of the Byzantine empire is conveniently summarized in G. Ostrogorsky, *A History of the Byzantine State* (2nd English ed., Oxford, 1968), pp.200-60, and that of the Frankish empire in L. Halphen, *Charlemagne et l'empire carolingien* (Paris, 1968), pp.197-241. On relations between the two empires and planned marriage alliances, P. Lamma, 'Il problema dei due imperi e dell'Italia meridionale nel giudizio delle fonti letterarie dei secoli IX e X', *Atti del Terzo Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1959), p.178, W. Ohnsorge, 'L'idea d'impero nel secolo nono e l'Italia meridionale', *ibid.*, p.266.
15. J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1905), pp.49-163, N. Cilento, 'Le incursioni saraceniche nell'Italia meridionale', *Italia meridionale longobarda* (Milan, 1971), pp.135-66. On the well-informed Greek sources, Lamma, *art. cit.*, pp.188-92, 209-10.

equanimity the existence of two empires,¹⁶ while Erchempert of Capua denounced the Greeks as '*animo aequales bestiis, vocabulo Christiani, set moribus tristiores Agarenis*'.¹⁷ Byzantine overlordship was also recognized by the cities of Naples, Gaeta and Amalfi, all technically territories of the empire but in practice autonomous. Although their independence could stretch to cooperation with the Arabs on occasion, all three retained most of their social and political institutions from the period of direct Byzantine rule, and their nominal allegiance was made more attractive by the commercial advantages which they enjoyed in the East and by the court titles awarded to their rulers.¹⁸ Of the three cities the Greek influence seems to have been strongest in Naples, where a high proportion of witnesses subscribed to documents in Latin written in Greek characters and where considerable translation activity from Greek took place. This included ecclesiastical works such as the saints' lives presented to Charles the Bald by Paul, a deacon of Naples, but also the earliest Latin version of the Alexander Romance, translated by the archpriest Leo in the tenth century.¹⁹

A broadly analogous situation prevailed in Venice. Once one probes beneath the elaborate myth of the city's early history contained in the later chronicles, with their emphasis on independence from Constantinople, it is clear that the islands of the lagoon

16. *Ibid.*, p.177, on the *Chronicon Salernitanum*, ed. U.Westerberg (Lund, 1956).

17. Erchempert, *Historia Langobardorum Beneventanorum*, c.81, ed. G.Waitz, *MGH, Scriptores Rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum* (Hannover, 1878), p.264; cf. Lamma, *art. cit.*, p.200, and N.Cilento, 'La storiografia nell' Italia meridionale', *Settimane di Studio*, xvii, 2 (1970), pp.548-53.

18. Gaeta: M.Merore, *Gaeta im frühen Mittelalter* (Gotha, 1911); Amalfi: U.Schwarz, *Amalfi im frühen Mittelalter (9.-11. Jahrhundert)* (Tübingen, 1978); cf. also Gay, *L'Italie*, pp.238-53, V.von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione*, pp.10-14, *eadem* in A.Guillou et al., *Il Mezzogiorno dai Bizantini a Federico II* (Storia d'Italia UTET, Turin, 1983), pp.323-56.

19. G.Cassandro, 'Il ducato bizantino', *Storia di Napoli*, ii, i (Cava dei Tirreni, 1969), pp.3-408; N.Cilento, 'La cultura e l'inizio dello Studio', *ibid.*, ii, 2, pp.523-640; E.Faral, 'Les conditions générales de la production littéraire en Europe occidentale pendant les IX et X siècles', *Settimane di Studio*, i (1953), pp.277-8; M.Fuiano, 'I rapporti tra oriente e occidente nell' attività culturale di Paolo Diacono della chiesa napoletana nel sec. IX', *Atti* (cited at n.14), pp.397-411; V. von Falkenhausen, 'A medieval Neapolitan document', *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, xxx (1968/69), pp.171-82.

remained in a Byzantine orbit. The tangled internal conflicts which beset the area in the late eighth and early ninth centuries were certainly exacerbated by Frankish pressures, and some have seen them as a struggle between pro-Frankish and pro-Byzantine factions. In fact the dominant factor seems rather to have been family and regional antagonisms. After an invasion by Charles' son Pepin, Byzantium showed its strategic interest in the area by making a strong naval show of force. When peace was made between the two empires in 812, Venice's attachment to Constantinople was reaffirmed by the establishment of a resolutely pro-Byzantine dynasty of doges, the Partecipazi. While enjoying practical autonomy, the doges were slotted into the regular imperial *cursus honorum* of dignities and made use of imperial insignia.²⁰ Both the close links of the city with the empire and its growing maritime role are shown by the despatch of Venetian ships to assist the Byzantines against the Arabs in southern Italy and by the remarkable will of Giustiniano Partecipazi (d.829), which refers to his investments in trading in the East. These political and economic links were matched by cultural ties; the Acatist hymn was known and translated in Venice in the ninth century,²¹ and on a visit around 867 the missionaries Cyril and Methodius entered into a debate with the local clergy about the use of vernacular languages in the liturgy.²² While recognizing imperial authority the Venetians were of course constructing a dynamic and distinct identity which found its religious expression in the transfer of the relics of St. Mark to the Rialto.²³

In all four of the maritime cities which recognized Byzantine authority, therefore, one finds a fruitful combination of strong local feelings and interests with an acceptance of the benefits

20. A. Carile and G. Fedalto, *Le origini di Venezia* (Bologna, 1978); A. Pertusi, 'Quaedam regalia insignia', *Studi Veneziani*, vii (1965), pp. 3-123; *idem*, 'L'impero bizantino e l'evolvere di suoi interessi', in *Le Origini di Venezia* (Florence, 1964), pp. 59-92.

21. Partecipazi will: ed. R. Cessi, *Documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia anteriori al Mille*, i (Padua, 1942), p. 95; Acatist hymn and other cultural contacts: Carile and Fedalto, *op. cit.*, p. 43, Pertusi *art. cit.*, pp. 78-9.

22. F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs* (New Brunswick, 1970), pp. 129-30.

23. Carile and Fedalto, *op. cit.*, pp. 403-15.

which the imperial connection had to offer: a kind of inspired Byzantine devolution.²⁴

The situation was different in Rome, where the city had renounced its allegiance to Constantinople by its actions in 800 and so obtained for itself a central role in the religious and ideological world of the Carolingian empire. Theophanes could comment that 'Rome is now in the hands of the Franks',²⁵ and certainly for much of the ninth century there were conflicts between the papacy and the eastern empire. A perpetual running sore, strenuously taken up by Pope Nicholas I, concerned the transfer of Rome's patrimonies and jurisdiction in southern Italy and Illyricum to the patriarchate of Constantinople in the eighth century.²⁶ This jurisdictional dispute had a bearing on the rivalry over missions in the Balkans.²⁷ A particularly serious conflict arose over the appointment of Photius as Patriarch of Constantinople. Although the conflict did show the readiness of certain elements in the East to appeal to Rome, and its effects were not as serious or as long-lasting as was once believed, a dangerous political precedent was created, and a number of doctrinal and disciplinary differences were brought into the open.²⁸ Even before the 'schism' occurred, however, hostility had been acute, as is shown by Pope Nicholas I's assertion to Michael III that:

ridiculum est vos appellare Romanorum imperatores et tamen non nosse Romanam... quiescite igitur vos nuncupare Romanorum imperatores

and that imperial power could only be conferred by the papacy.²⁹

These conflicts were, however, only one side of the story. In

24. Broadly analogous conditions applied to other outlying dependencies of Byzantium such as Cherson and the Dalmatian cities: E.Kirsten, 'Die byzantinische Stadt', *Berichte zum XI internationalen Byzantinistenkongress*, v, 3 (Munich, 1961), pp.22-3.

25. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, A.M. 6289, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), i, p.472.

26. J.Haller, *Nikolaus I und Pseudo-Isidore* (Stuttgart, 1936), E.Perels, *Papst Nikolaus I und Anastasius Bibliothecarius* (Berlin, 1929), W.Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages* (3rd edition, London, 1970), pp.190-209.

27. F.Dvornik, *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IX siècle* (Paris, 1950), pp.259-61.

28. *Idem*, *The Photian Schism: History and Legend* (Cambridge, 1948).

29. *Ep.* 88, ed. E.Perels, *MGH, Epistolae*, vi (Berlin, 1925), p.459.

many respects Byzantium exercised a powerful influence on Rome. This is most obvious in the dramatic burst of artistic and cultural activity in the city, especially in the first half of the century. Here there is a danger of succumbing to the fallacy of what Peter Brown characterized as the 'cultural hydraulics' view of East-West relations, the notion that artistic and literary influences flowed from East to West like water down a slope.³⁰ It is perhaps salutary to recall Professor Mango's warnings at the 1972 Spoleto conference concerning the low level of Byzantine culture around the end of the eighth century and the possibility of some influences running in a West-East direction.³¹ It is, however, legitimate to postulate the large-scale import of small-scale objects from the East: many of the reliquaries, crosses, icons, vestments and relics which crowd the pages of the *Liber Pontificalis* as donations to the church can only have been obtained from the East.³² In such fields as architecture and mosaic-working local traditions and the following of early Christian models seem to have predominated, but time and time again the 'style' aimed at mirrored the prestigious living tradition of the 'New Rome'. This can be seen most clearly in Leo III's rebuilding of a triclinium on the model of the imperial palace in Constantinople, and also in the programme of mosaic decoration in the Zeno chapel in St. Prassede built by Leo's successor, Paschal I.³³ In the field of literature the most dramatic example is of course the papal librarian Anastasius, whose often none too precise knowledge of Greek won him the renown of contemporaries. After a remarkable career in ecclesiastical politics, including his election as pope for three days in 855, Anastasius became the envoy of the Emperor Louis II to Constantinople in 865, and translated an

30. P. Brown, 'Eastern and Western Christendom in late antiquity: the parting of the Ways', *Studies in Church History*, xiii, ed. D. Baker (Oxford, 1976), p. 5.

31. C. Mango, 'La Culture grecque et l'occident au VIII^e siècle', *Settimane di Studio*, xx, 2 (Spoleto, 1973), pp. 683-721.

32. P. Partner, *The Lands of St. Peter* (London, 1972), p. 54; cf. R. Krautheimer, *Rome. Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton, 1980), p. 120 ('The Rome of the emperors mirrored in the living tradition of ninth-century Byzantium exerts a powerful impact'), and various of the studies in *Roma e l'età Carolingia*, Istituto di Storia dell'Arte dell'Università di Roma (Rome, 1976).

33. Krautheimer, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-28.

impressive range of works, including the *Chronographia* of Theophanes, the acts of two councils and a number of saints' lives. Anastasius can hardly be said to have been pro-Byzantine in his sympathies: he probably drafted the famous letter to Basil I in which Louis II denounced the 'cacodoxy' of the Greeks and claimed that they had forfeited the title of Roman Emperor because they had abandoned Rome and the Latin language. Anastasius accused the Greeks of craftiness and deceit in his account of his embassy and his translation of a dossier on the trial of Abbot Maximus the Confessor, the *Collectanea*, was calculated to highlight the repressiveness of the schismatic Greeks at the time of the monothelete controversy. Nevertheless Anastasius' role as a cultural go-between (a role of which he was himself proud) reflects an awareness in Rome of the high cultural level of the East and of the need to gain access to its heritage.³⁴

On a political level the popes were not uniformly hostile. John VIII wrote to Basil I lamenting the plight of a Rome threatened by the Arabs and he engineered a rapprochement with the Byzantines which involved the recognition of Photius and concerted actions against the Saracens.³⁵ Such overtures bore fruit in 915 when Pope John X assembled a Christian league which stormed the main Arab base near the mouth of the Garigliano.³⁶ Byzantine political influence was prominent in Rome throughout the ascendancy of the house of Theophylact from around 904 to 962. The dynasty made extensive use of Byzantinizing titles and ceremonial, and both the notorious 'pornocrat' Marozia and her son Alberic attempted to

34. Anastasius' career is usefully summarized by G. Arnaldi in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, iii (Rome, 1961), pp. 25-37: cf. also A. Lapôtre, *De Anastasio bibliothecario sedis apostolicae* (Paris, 1885) reprinted in his *Etudes sur la Papauté au IX^e siècle* (Turin, 1978). His letter written in the name of Louis II to Basil I is edited by W. Henze in *MGH, Epistolae*, vii (Berlin, 1928), pp. 386-94.

35. F. A. Engreen, 'Pope John the Eighth and the Arabs', *Speculum*, xx (1945), pp. 318-30, Gay, *L'Italie*, pp. 119-31.

36. O. Vehse, 'Das Bündnis gegen die Sarazenen vom Jahre 915' *Quellen und Forschungen*, xix (1927), pp. 181-204, G. Arnaldi, 'La fase preparatoria della battaglia del Garigliano del 915', *Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia*, iv (Naples, 1954), pp. 123-44.

arrange marriages with relatives of Romanus Lecapenus.³⁷ Byzantine influence persisted after the creation of a strong Western empire by the Ottonians in 962. Indeed, Otto II's Greek widow Theophano and her 'Byzantinizing' son Otto III spent much of their time in Rome, while the powerful Crecenzi family had close ties with Constantinople, and Basil II's envoy Leo the Syncellus claimed that he had engineered the election of the Italo-Greek scholar John Philagathus as anti-pope in 997.³⁸

Throughout this period an important Byzantine legacy is also evident in the institutions of Rome. The bureaucracy of the Roman church preserved many of the features and titles of its earlier imperial counterpart,³⁹ notions of public authority and obligations remained well entrenched,⁴⁰ and Roman law was practised and studied, as is shown by a number of compilations from the Novels and the Code of Justinian which are associated with Rome.⁴¹ Offices and titles from the Byzantine period such as consul, patrician and *magister militum* remained in common use,⁴² as did Greek names: a plethora of Theodores and Theophylacts crowd the pages of Roman sources.⁴³

What was at the root of this resilient Byzantinism in Rome? Various explanations have been offered. The existence of a large number of Greek monasteries in Rome has been stressed. Interesting as these are, it is clear that their cultural impact was limited,

37. K.Leyser, 'The Tenth Century in Byzantine-Western Relationships' in D.Baker, ed., *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1973), p.38, P.Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages* (London, 1970), p.308, Partner, *op. cit.*, p.83.

38. Otto II and Otto III: P.Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio* (reprint, Darmstadt, 1957), pp.82-197. John Philagathos: Leyser, *art. cit.*, pp.38-9, and references *ibid.*, p.55, n.52.

39. Llewellyn, *op. cit.*, pp.109-40.

40. E.Patlagean, 'Les armes et la cité à Rome du VIIe au IXe siècle, et le modèle européen des trois fonctions sociales', *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome. Moyen Age, Temps Modernes*, lxxxvi (1974), pp.55-61.

41. F.Capasso, *Medio Evo del Diritto*, i (Milan, 1954), pp.279-81, 289-91.

42. L.Halphen, *Etudes sur l'administration de Rome au haut moyen âge (751-1252)* (Paris, 1902), pp.28-36, P.Toubert, *Les Structures du Latium médiévale*, ii, pp.963-8.

43. *Ibid.*, i, p.637; for a Roman who subscribed in Greek characters in 1002, *ibid.*, ii, p.1225.

their monks in no sense represented an imperial fifth column, and their wealth and numbers were diminishing in the Carolingian period.⁴⁴ Nor is papal fear of the Arabs an adequate explanation. Despite this threat and recurring tension with the Franks, the popes remained committed to their western orientation, which led to a remarkable assertion of their primacy in the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, and went to great lengths to court increasingly weak Carolingians and later Italian princelings as their main protectors.⁴⁵

A more satisfying explanation lies in the *mentalités* of the Roman secular aristocracy, which remained highly receptive to Byzantine influence and patronage. Again and again northern writers commented on the 'haughty', 'effeminate' and 'semi-Greek' character of the Romans,⁴⁶ and the centre of the city's *abitato* was still the *Ripa Graeca*, the Greek quarter alongside the Tiber.⁴⁷ The dress, titles and life-style of the aristocracy reveal an enduring admiration for 'New Rome', and a degree of nostalgia for the past imperial period.⁴⁸ Such sentiments appear in several literary evocations of the city. The *Versus Romae* from the end of the ninth century include the line:

Constantinopolis florens nova Roma vocatur:

Moribus et muris, Roma vetusta, cadis.⁴⁹

A little later the *Invectiva in urbem Romam* regretted the move of the imperial residence to Constantinople and lamented:

Ubi ergo, o Roma, tanta tua nobilitas: et antiqua tam invicta potestas?⁵⁰

From the middle of the tenth century the *Libellus de imperatoria potestate* took up a similar theme and alluded to

44. See the valuable study of J. Sansterre, *Les Moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne* (Brussels, 1982).

45. Ullmann, *Growth* (cited at n.26), pp.167-89; Llewellyn, *Rome*, pp.256-85, especially p.272.

46. On the comments of writers such as Flodoard, Gerbert and Liutprand see Schramm, *Kaiser*, p.32; Toubert, *Les Structures*, ii, p.1007.

47. *Ibid.*, i, p.637, ii p.1225.

48. Leyser, *art.cit.*, p.37.

49. *MGH, Poetae Latini*, iii, ed. L. Traube (Berlin, 1886), p.556n; cf. Schramm, *Kaiser*, p.30.

50. Ed. E. Dümmler, *Gesta Berengarii Imperatoris* (Halle, 1871), p.145.

Constantinopolis..., quae, quia Romano gloriabatur imperio, dicta est Nova Roma.⁵¹

How far pro-Byzantine sympathies were translated into political action is difficult to assess. Almost certainly some Roman aristocrats accepted Byzantine bribes, as had two bishops on a mission to Constantinople in 863.⁵² On the other hand it is impossible to point with certainty to any attempt to restore Byzantine rule, although it has been seen as a factor in the chronic unrest of the Roman nobility, and such accusations were levelled against one Gratian, military governor of the papal palace in 853.⁵³ It would certainly be a gross over-simplification to divide Roman society into a pro-Frankish clerical bureaucracy and a pro-Byzantine secular aristocracy. Neither group was monolithic, both shared common interests and backgrounds, and uppermost in most conflicts were local factional and family antagonisms. Nevertheless the clergy did have particular interests which were usually best served by playing the Frankish card, just as Pope Leo III's original appeal to Charles in 799 arose out of his difficulties with the local nobility, while the secular leaders became more resentful of the Franks, whom they regarded as interfering boors and increasingly ineffective as defenders.⁵⁴

The author of the most detailed recent study of the Rome area, Pierre Toubert, doubted that the ninth-century aristocracy derived

51. Ed. G.Zuchetti, *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia*, lv, (Rome, 1920), p.191.

52. Llewellyn, *Rome*, p.270. Possible recipients of Byzantine largesse include a *magister militum* in 823 (cf. L.M.Hartmann, 'Grundherrschaft und Bureaukratie im Kirchenstaate vom 8. bis zum 10 Jahrhundert', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, vii [1909], p.153) and the *primicerius* Theodore, arrested for treason with his son-in-law Leo (cf. Llewellyn, *Rome*, p.254).

53. *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L.Duchesne, ii (Paris, 1892), p.134. Cf. L.Duchesne, *Les Premiers temps de l'état pontifical* (3rd, ed., Paris, 1911), p.223, Lamma, *art. cit.*, p.184, Partner, *op. cit.*, p.60.

54. Nature of the secular and clerical aristocracy: Toubert, *Les Structures*, ii, p.967. Nicholas I exercised considerable influence over the Frankish empire (Ullmann, *Growth*, pp.191-209), and in 875 the papacy appealed to Charles the Bald (Halphen, *Charlemagne*, p.360). Anti-Frankish feelings in Rome are perhaps best illustrated by the election of Sergius II as pope in 844: Llewellyn, *Rome*, pp.259-60. Leo III: Classen, 'Karl der Grosse', pp.589-606.

from that of the Byzantine period and dismissed the former's eastern sympathies as *le snobisme byzantinisant*.⁵⁵ The case for continuity, however, is strong. The consuls and *magistri militum* of the ninth century must usually have been the descendants of the holders of precisely the same titles in the Byzantine duchy of Rome. They regarded themselves as such and harked back nostalgically to the autonomous, privileged position which their forebears had enjoyed under imperial rule.⁵⁶ The evidence for this is largely indirect, but still compelling. It lies in the attitude to Byzantium evident in the other areas which had been under imperial rule. All displayed a marked enthusiasm for the 'Greek connection', provided that it operated in a manner which allowed for considerable local autonomy and combining local patriotism with receptivity to Byzantine cultural and economic influences.⁵⁷

Rome was not the only area to have fallen out of Byzantine control in the late eighth century. Istria had fallen to the Franks around 778, and the Exarchate of Ravenna held an ambiguous position under the nominal rule of the popes while considerable influence was exercised by the Franks and effective power was wielded by the archbishops of Ravenna. From Istria there survives a fascinating record of an assembly held in 804, the Plea of Rìzana. There the local landowners, the tribunes, complained to the Frankish authorities that they had had much greater privileges under the Greeks; in particular their tax payments had been lower, they had had rights of assembly and control over their dependents and (particularly significant) they had had the right to obtain the dignity of consul from the emperor.⁵⁸

In Ravenna the Greek element had always been limited,⁵⁹ but what traditions there were remained remarkably durable. Some of the Greek monasteries in the city seem to have retained their Greek

55. Toubert, *Les Structures*, ii, p.966.

56. Brown, *Gentlemen*, p.218.

57. See the works cited *supra*, nn.18-20.

58. On Istria, Brown, *Gentlemen*, *passim*, especially pp.130,139, Guillou, *Régionalisme*, pp.192-8. The Plea of Rìzana is edited *ibid.*, pp.301-7.

59. Brown, *Gentlemen*, pp.146-7, Mango, 'La Culture', p.684.

monks long after 751,⁶⁰ a curious document from nearby Rovigo was dated by the years of the Byzantine emperors as late as 826,⁶¹ and continued links with the church of Constantinople are shown by a letter which Photius addressed to the archbishop of Ravenna.⁶² Particularly revealing is the history of the see of Ravenna written by Agnellus around 840. While not concealing his hatred for the Greeks and glorying in their defeats, he looked back longingly to the days when the Byzantine emperors had embellished his city with fine buildings and mosaics and showered his beloved see with privileges. Frankish rule he detested; Charlemagne was condemned for his caesaropapist pretensions and for his spoliation of Ravenna's treasures, while a contemporary archbishop was denounced for his obsequious policy to the Frankish king Lothar which resulted in the loss of the see's valued privileges at the battle of Fontenoy in 841.⁶³

This nostalgia for the period of Byzantine rule must also have been felt in Rome. Not only did Rome experience a broadly analogous political and social evolution, but the Romans had close relations with the present and former Byzantine territories. Rome's close involvement in the Exarchate was not always happy but it led to several important synods being convoked by the popes in Ravenna and a Bolognese pope becoming pope as John X in 914.⁶⁴

60. *A monasterium Graecum* (S. Teodoro) is recorded in Ravenna as late as 1007: M. Fantuzzi, *Monumenti ravennati de' secoli di mezzo*, v (Venice, 1804), p. 162; F. W. Deichmann, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, ii, 2 (Wiesbaden, 1976), p. 374.

61. C. Manaresi, *I placiti del "Regnum Italiae"*, i (Rome, 1955), no. 43.

62. Photius, *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, ii, ed. B. Laourdas and L. G. Westerink (Leipzig, 1984), pp. 217-18, no. 267. On the Greek element in the Church of Ravenna see Brown, *Gentlemen*, p. 69, and A. Simonini, *Autocefalia ed Esarcato in Italia* (Ravenna, 1969), especially pp. 52-4, 177-8.

63. On Agnellus see G. Cortesi, 'Andrea Agnello e il "Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis"', *Corsi di Cultura sull' Arte Ravennate e Bizantina*, xxviii (1981), pp. 31-76, G. Fasoli, 'Rileggendo il "Liber Pontificalis" di Agnello Ravennate', *Settimane di Studio*, xvii (1970), pp. 457-95, T. S. Brown, 'Romanitas and Campanilismo: Agnellus of Ravenna's view of the past', in C. Holdsworth and P. Wiseman, eds., *The Inheritance of History, A.D. 400-900* (Exeter, forthcoming). On Agnellus' hostility to the Franks see Ohnsorge, 'L'idea d'impero', pp. 261-2.

64. On relations between the papacy and the Exarchate see G. Buzzi, 'Ricerche per la storia di Ravenna e di Roma dall' 850 al 1118', *Archivio della Reale Società*

Rome's close ties with her Gaetan, Amalfitan and Neapolitan neighbours were demonstrated in a concerted naval action against the Muslims at Ostia in 849⁶⁵ and the marriage of prince Alberic's cousin to duke John III of Naples.⁶⁶ Romans could not help but be aware of the sentiments of the Italian subjects of Byzantium, and to appreciate the advantages which association with the empire had brought them.

Byzantine relations with Italy can therefore be said to follow a definite chronological and geographical pattern. In most areas of Italy these were close throughout the ninth century. In the South an expansion of political authority was achieved as a result of divisions among the other powers and the opportunities which arose to form a focus of Christian resistance to the Muslims. In northern and central Italy the influence had less concrete effects but was still considerable. In the cultural and artistic spheres Byzantium was a constant source of texts, techniques and models. Less visible but very important were the inheritance of Byzantine institutions, the nostalgia for Byzantine rule, and a stratum of pro-imperial sentiment. The latter was not a dominant element; indeed vague Byzantine yearnings often seem to have been suffused into an ideal of a return to an imaginary Roman or Constantinian past evident not only in Rome and Ravenna but also in the 'Romanizing' imperialism of some Frankish rulers such as Louis II.⁶⁷ This image was 'refracted' through the lens of the 'Byzantine' period of the seventh and eighth centuries, when Rome and the Exarchate of Ravenna were able to evolve autonomy and a creative identity within an imperial context. In Italy (and perhaps in some other provinces) the Byzantine empire had the characteristics of what anthropologists call a 'segmentary state'.⁶⁸ Too many scholars of

Romana di Storia Patria, xxxvii (1915), pp.107-213, A.Simonini, *Autocefalia*, pp.175-7.

65. Duchesne, *Les premiers temps*, p.220.

66. Llewellyn, *Rome*, p.305, Partner, *Lands*, p.83.

67. Llewellyn, *Rome*, pp.268-9. The influence of Byzantium on the cultural milieu of 9th century Rome is well brought out by G. Arnaldi, 'Giovanni Immonide e la cultura romana al tempo di Giovanni VIII', *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il medio evo*, lxxviii (1956), pp.34-48.

68. On the concept A.Southall, *Alur Society* (Cambridge, 1956), pp.246-9.

Italo-Byzantine relations have started their investigations in 751 or 800, when the most significant stage of the 'uncoupling' process occurred in 727, with a general revolt against imperial appointees and the election of local dukes.⁶⁹

In a famous passage Henri Pirenne wrote that 'Charlemagne, without Mahomet, would have been inconceivable'.⁷⁰ In the case of Italy the dictum requires a modification: even with Charlemagne, Byzantium remained very conceivable.

69. Brown, *Gentlemen*, pp.56, 160.

70. H.Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, trans. B.Miall (London, 1939), p.234.

II

THE BALKANS IN THE NINTH CENTURY: BARRIER OR BRIDGE?

D. OBOLENSKY / OXFORD

In a book published in 1956, that leading authority on Byzantine-Slav relations, the late Father Francis Dvornik, had this to say: 'The destruction of Christianity in this vast region of the Roman Empire called Illyricum, which included all the provinces ... from the Alps to the Peloponnese - with the exception of Thrace - had another important consequence which has never been pointed out before ... It was ... in this region that Latin and Greek populations were intermingled, living peacefully together and forming a bridge between the Latin West and the Greek East. If the Christian civilization in Illyricum had not been destroyed by the Avars and the Slavs, the Western and Eastern Churches would, by virtue of this "bridge", presumably have remained in contact ... Because this bridge between the two Churches was wrecked by the new occupants of Illyricum and because the Arabs gained control to a great extent over the Mediterranean Sea, communication between East and West became extremely difficult ... Thus Illyricum, instead of being a bridge between West and East,... finally became the battlefield on which the two forces of Christendom waged the first great struggles which led to that complete separation so fateful for the whole of Christendom and all mankind'.¹

It is not my intention to comment at length on Dvornik's statement, nor to discuss its obvious relevance, of which he was

1. *The Slavs, their Early History and Civilization* (Boston, 1956), pp.44-45.

very much aware, to Henri Pirenne's celebrated theory about the role, allegedly played by the Arabs, of interrupting the east-west flow of commerce and culture across the Mediterranean. But the main theme of the passage I have quoted is clearly of direct relevance to the subject of my paper. Dvornik's main thrust, it is true, is towards an earlier period - mainly the sixth and seventh centuries. Yet it raises, in a challenging form, the whole question of the role played by Illyricum - and Illyricum, as we shall see, means in this context the greater part of the Balkan peninsula - in the early medieval history of Europe. Did this region cease at that time to be what it became after the Roman conquest of the second and first centuries before Christ - a bridge between the eastern and the western halves of the Empire, and later a meeting-ground between Greek and Latin Christendom? Or did it, through the travails of the barbarian invasions of the sixth and seventh centuries, retain something of its connecting and mediating role? These are the two questions I would like to consider in this paper. And I have chosen a period which is of peculiar importance in the medieval history of south-eastern Europe: the ninth century.

I will approach my subject from two different angles - the one geographical, the other ideological. I shall first look at some of the material results of the barbarian invasions, in an attempt to discover whether the Balkan peninsula was still in the ninth century an obstacle to east-west communications, or whether on the contrary the trans-Balkan routes were then opened once again to regular land traffic. In the second half of the paper I will turn to the cultural field, and consider how far the Balkan peoples were able, in the ninth century, to act as a bridge between the Greek and the Latin worlds, between Eastern and Western Christendom.

There is no need today, I think, to argue that the destruction wrought throughout the Balkans by the Slavs and Avars in the sixth and seventh centuries was widespread and thorough. Literary and archaeological evidence has shown that large areas of the countryside were laid waste; the cities of the interior were sacked; the Byzantine administrative machinery collapsed; the network of bishoprics established since the fourth century in the principal cities

was almost wholly uprooted, and the once flourishing Christianity of this region extinguished, at least in the interior, for several centuries; whole stretches of the countryside were emptied of their inhabitants who, when they escaped the slaughter, either fled or were deported to regions north of the Danube; and in their place tribal groups of land-hungry Slavs settled all over the peninsula, from the Danube to the southern Peloponnese, and from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. Virtually all the northern and central regions, north of the 40th parallel, were occupied by the Slavs; in Greece the situation was not radically different: southern and eastern Macedonia, Thessaly, Epirus, and the western districts of the Peloponnese, were in the course of the seventh century densely Slavified. Only in some maritime towns - on the Adriatic and Black Sea coasts, and also in Athens, Corinth, Patras, Monemvasia - were Byzantine garrisons maintained. The two principal cities of the Empire, Constantinople and Thessalonica, stood out, it is true, as impregnable fortresses; but the latter city was all but ringed by Slavonic territory, while the Byzantines maintained, at least until the late seventh century, only a precarious hold on eastern Thrace. It is no exaggeration to say that, with the exceptions I have cited, the greater part of the Balkan peninsula was, in the seventh and eighth centuries, outside the effective control of the Empire's administration.²

Unlike the Germanic invaders of Western Europe, the Balkan Slavs proved unable, during these early centuries, to form stable kingdoms. Practising an agricultural and pastoral economy, they lived in small rural settlements, and were grouped within a tribal society based on kinship. The Byzantines called their tribal communities *Sklaviniai*, a term popularized in the ninth century by Theophanes,³ and more recently by Professor Ostrogorsky.⁴ This

2. The literature on this subject is enormous. A recent survey, with a useful bibliography, is M.W. Weithmann, *Die slavische Bevölkerung auf der griechischen Halbinsel* (Munich, 1978).
3. *Chronographia*, ed. C. De Boor (Leipzig, 1883; Hildesheim, 1963), i, pp.364, 430, 486.
4. G. Ostrogorsky, 'The Byzantine Empire in the World of the Seventh Century', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xiii (1959), pp.1-21; reprinted in the same author's *Zur Byzantinischen Geschichte: Ausgewählte Kleinen Schriften* (Darmstadt,

was a term of central importance in the historical geography of the Balkans. Scattered throughout the peninsula, the *Sklaviniai* were regions occupied by the Slavs, over which the Empire had lost all effective control, but which had acquired no alternative form of centralized administration. Their status is well summarized by the medieval *Chronicle of Monemvasia*: the Peloponnesian Slavs, it states, were subject neither to the emperor of the Romans nor to anyone else.⁵

The proliferation of *Sklaviniai* through the Balkan peninsula interposed a barrier of pagan barbarism, which for more than two centuries made any movement across the Balkans extremely hazardous. This barrier was reinforced after 681 by the rise of the Bulgarian Kingdom, strongly anti-Byzantine in policy and ambition, which seems to have isolated for some considerable time the area between the lower Danube and the Balkan range from the rest of the Balkans. The spread of the *Sklaviniai* threatened to cut one of the Empire's principal land-routes in Europe - the road linking its two principal cities, Constantinople and Thessalonica. No wonder that the Byzantine government made strenuous efforts to keep it open. An early success was gained in 688 or 689 by Justinian II, who at the head of his army forced his way through the *Sklaviniai* into Thessalonica. This was clearly a major military undertaking, for which cavalry troops had to be transferred from Asia Minor: and it was no doubt as thanksgiving for his victory that the emperor gave a generous grant in the same year to the church of St. Demetrios, the patron saint of Thessalonica.⁶ We may doubt whether this breakthrough had lasting effects; in the following century, in any case, the Byzantines were forced to campaign again repeatedly against the Slavs of Macedonia.

Most of this time, however, a tenuous link survived in the Balkans between the Greek and the Latin worlds. The Latin-speaking inhabitants of the peninsula, who until about 600 A.D.

1973), pp.81-84.

5. *Cronaca di Monemvasia*, ed. I. Dujčev, *Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neollenici. Testi e Monumenti* xii (Palermo, 1976), p.16.

6. Theophanes, *op.cit.*, p.364; Weithmann, *op.cit.*, p.251.

lived to the north and west of a line drawn approximately from present-day Varna to Dyrrachium, had been eliminated, deported, or driven into remote mountain areas. The one exception, we shall see, were the cities on the Dalmatian coast. In some of the Balkan towns, which escaped the ravages, however, a Latin presence was maintained through the Church. The ecclesiastical province of Illyricum, which from the mid-sixth century extended from Istria to a north-south line drawn approximately (in modern terms) from Vidin to Kavalla, and from the Sava to the southern Peloponnese, remained under the authority of the Bishop of Rome. Thessalonica, the premier see of eastern Illyricum, had since the late fourth century been a papal vicariate.⁷ We know next to nothing about the life of the Christian communities in the towns of eastern Illyricum during the dark ages; it is not impossible that, owing as they did political allegiance to Byzantium and ecclesiastical obedience to Rome, they permitted some degree of symbiosis between the local representatives of the two Churches. It seems possible therefore, albeit on a very limited scale, to speak of a bridge between Greek and Latin Christianity in a few cities of the central area of the Balkans between, say, 600 and 750.

In the last two decades of this period this bridge must have been weakened by the Iconoclast policies of the Byzantine government. It was dealt a further and decisive blow towards the middle of the eighth century - the exact date is in dispute - when the dioceses of Illyricum were, by imperial decree, transferred to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople.⁸ By the year 800 the Balkans, from the viewpoint of East-West communications, must have resembled a barrier more than a bridge.

7. See L.Duchesne, *Autonomies ecclésiastiques, Eglises Séparées* (Paris, 1905), pp.229-279; S.L.Greenslade, 'The Illyrian churches and the Vicariate of Thessalonica, 378-395', *Journal of Theological Studies*, xlv (1945), pp.17-30.

8. See M.V.Anastos, 'The Transfer of Illyricum, Calabria, and Sicily to the Jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 732-33', *Silloge bizantina in onore di S.G.Mercati: Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, ix (1957), pp.14-31. On the other hand V.Grumel has argued that the transfer took place two decades later, between 752 and 757: 'L'annexion de l'Illyricum oriental, de la Sicile et de la Calabre au Patriarcat de Constantinople', *Recherches de science religieuse*, xl (1952), pp.191-200.

The situation began to change at the beginning of the ninth century. In the reign of the Emperor Nicephorus I (802-11) the Peloponnesian Slavs were defeated and subdued at Patras.⁹ This marked a decisive stage in the restoration of Byzantine authority in the southern part of the Balkans. Simultaneously an impetus was given to creation of imperial themes. The themes - the basic units of Byzantine provincial administration in this period - were districts in which soldiers were settled on small farms which they held on condition of hereditary military service, and whose governors exercised, under the emperor's direct control, the supreme military and civil command. the theme system, first tried out in Asia Minor, was introduced, slowly and with difficulty at first, then on an increasing scale after 800, into those areas of the Balkans where the Byzantines succeeded in establishing direct political control over the Slavs. By the late ninth century the imperial government controlled a string of themes which formed an almost continuous edging along the Balkan peninsula, from Thrace to the borders of Istria. In some of those districts, notably in Thrace and southern Macedonia, Byzantine power extended far inland. Broadly speaking, south of a line drawn from Thessalonica to Dyrrachium, the inland *Sklaviniai* by the year 900 were well on the way to being absorbed into the theme system. By contrast, the *Sklaviniai* of the interior north of this line remained - except in Thrace and southern Macedonia - beyond the reach of Byzantine administration, and during the ninth century were merged into the Slav states of Bulgaria, Serbia, and Croatia. The period of the *Sklaviniai* had come to an end.

At the same time the Byzantine authorities made strenuous efforts to convert their new Slav subjects to Christianity. Here again the ninth century was a period of rapid achievement: in his book *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IXe siècle* (1926) Dvornik has shown how, in this period, the Byzantines succeeded in creating, and in some cases reconstituting, a network of bishoprics, especially in Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly and the Peloponnese. These bishop-

9. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, c.49, ed. Gy. Moravcsik (Washington D.C., 1967), pp.228-232.

rics were directly dependent on local metropolitanates which, in their turn, owed allegiance to the patriarchate of Constantinople. Some, notably in Macedonia and Thessaly, appear to have been set up to minister specifically to local Slav communities. Many seem to have been created in the reign of Basil I who, in association with the Patriarch Photius, planned and directed the conversion of the empire's Slav subjects.¹⁰

Themes and bishoprics must have done much to bring order and stability to many areas of the peninsula. Whatever may have happened to the Balkan cities in the dark ages,¹¹ there is no doubt that the ninth century saw the beginning of a revival of urban life in the peninsula. Since the Byzantine ecclesiastical system was founded on the Empire's administrative organization, the main cities became the seats of the military and civil governors (the *strategoi*) and of the metropolitan bishops.

Prima facie, therefore, one would expect the political stabilisation and relative military peace which reigned in the Balkans from 815 until almost the close of the century to have led, through the extension of the network of towns and bishoprics, to the revival of routes of communication. What evidence, then, do we have for trans-Balkan traffic in the ninth century?

The answer, I fear, is precious little. There were in this period two principal roads across the Balkan peninsula, both built by the Romans. The first was the royal highway (the *tsarki put*, as the Slavs called it), linking diagonally across the Balkans Constantinople with Belgrade, via Adrianople, Philippopolis, Sofia and Niš. It was a military and commercial route linking the Bosphorus with central Europe.¹² References to it in the ninth century are scanty. In the early years of the century three of the key fortresses on this route,

10. See F.Dvornik, *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IX^e siècle* (Paris, 1926), pp.215-281.

11. See A.P.Každan, 'Vizantiiskie goroda v VII-XI vekakh', *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, xxi (1954), pp.164-183; G.Ostrogorsky, 'Byzantine Cities in the Early Middle Ages', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xiii (1959), pp.45-66; C.Mango, *Byzantium, the Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), pp.60-87.

12. See K.Jireček, *Die Heerstrasse von Belgrad nach Constantinopel und die Balkanpässe* (Prague, 1877).

Sofia, Philippopolis and Adrianople, were captured by the Bulgarian Khan Krum; who also, in 813, destroyed a bridge spanning a lagoon near Selymbria on the northern coast of the Sea of Marmara, on the very last segment of the road. After Krum's death in 814, peaceful conditions probably prevailed on this road for most of the century. Are we entitled to assume that it was regularly used by merchants and diplomats travelling between the Empire and Bulgaria, and after 864 by Byzantine missionaries as well? Probably yes, provided we do not necessarily imagine any very regular or heavy traffic. The frontiers of the Bulgarian state were well guarded, and its people and goods were unlikely to be allowed uncontrolled passage across them: we know from the letter sent in 866 by Khan Boris of Bulgaria to Pope Nicholas I that when a slave or a freeman crossed the state border illegally, the frontier guards responsible were executed as a matter of course.¹³ The Bulgarian armed forces were, of course, subject to no such restrictions; and it is interesting to read in Einhard that on two occasions, in 827 and 829, a Bulgarian navy sailed up the middle Danube to attack the Frankish forces on the Drava:¹⁴ which shows that the entire length of the Balkan peninsula could be traversed along its northern periphery in the first half of the ninth century.

The evidence of international trade along the Belgrade-Constantinople highway in this period is, as far as I know, all circumstantial. But a pointer is provided by the outbreak in 894 of a war between Bulgaria and the Empire. The market for the sale of Bulgarian goods, as the result of a court intrigue, was transferred by the Byzantine government from Constantinople to Thessalonica.¹⁵ It seems quite possible that the decision of Symeon of Bulgaria to retaliate by invading the Empire was due to an awareness that, with the market now removed to Thessalonica, Bulgarian goods - corn, hides, flax, honey - would no longer pass along the most profitable sector of the Belgrade-Constantinople highway, and that the Bulga-

13. *Responsa Nicolai ad consulta Bulgarorum*, PL, cxix, col.991.

14. Einhard, *Annales*, MGH, SS, i, p.216.

15. See G.I.Bratianu, 'Le commerce bulgare dans l'Empire byzantin et le monopole de l'empereur Léon VI à Thessalonique', *Sbornik Nikov: Izvestiya na Bŭlgarskoto Istoricheskoto Druzhestvo*, xvi-xviii (1940), pp.30-36.

rian merchants would no longer journey through some of the principal cities of his realm. Like the tourists of today, they were no doubt expected to leave some of their currency in local shops and markets.

The second of our trans-Balkan roads - which followed an east-west direction, was the *Via Egnatia*.¹⁶ It linked Constantinople with the Adriatic coast, via Thessalonica, Edessa, Ohrid and Elbasan. Its two main terminal points on what is now the coast of Albania were Apollonia and Dyrrachium. The Romans, who built it soon after their conquest of Macedonia in the second century B.C., regarded it as an extension of the *Via Appia*, which ended in Brindisi. For the Byzantines it was the most direct means of access to their outposts on the Adriatic, their possessions in South Italy, and Rome.

It will be recalled that in 688 or 689 the Emperor Justinian II forced his army across the Thracian or Macedonian *Sklaviniai* to Thessalonica. The aim of this military operation was undoubtedly to open up the section of the *Via Egnatia* which skirted the northern coast of the Aegean between Constantinople and Thessalonica. Its effects, we saw, are unlikely to have been durable, and there can be little doubt that portions of the road reverted to their lawless condition during the eighth century.

There are, to the best of my knowledge, two - possibly three - significant episodes involving the *Via Egnatia* in the ninth century. Each in its own way is instructive, and germane to the theme of my paper.

The first episode occurred during the travels of a ninth century Byzantine saint, Gregory of Dekapolis. About the year 830 he arrived by boat at Christoupolis (probably the ancient Amphipolis, by the mouth of the Strymon). Then he went ashore, intending to continue his journey by road to Thessalonica, along the *Via Egnatia*. Almost immediately he was captured by Slav bandits.

16. See T.L.F.Tafel, *De via militari Romanorum Egnatia, qua Illyricum, Macedonia et Thracia iungebantur* (Tübingen, 1842; London, 1973); 'Via Egnatia', in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, v (1905), cols. 1988-1993.

Impressed, however, by his courage in adversity, they released him and allowed him to continue on his way. In Thessalonica Gregory met a monk who was going to Rome. He decided to accompany him. By far the shortest route was the land road from Thessalonica to Dyrrachium or Apollonia, and from there by sea to one of the ports of Apulia. However, they decided on the longer sea-route, ignoring the sailors' warnings about Arab pirates. So they sailed, via Corinth, to Reggio in Calabria, and from there, also by sea, to Naples. After spending three months in Rome, he returned - via Syracuse and Otranto - to Thessalonica.

Later in the text we are told that St. Gregory predicted a major revolt of the Slavs (presumably near Thessalonica), and that one of his acquaintances, a Byzantine official from Thessalonica, abandoned his intention to travel by land to Constantinople because of the 'difficult and alarming' nature of the route, and embarked instead in Maroneia. Later still, Gregory himself travelled twice from Thessalonica to Constantinople, undoubtedly by sea.¹⁷

Gregory's encounter with the Slav pirates in the estuary of the Strymon can be dated c. 831; his friend's decision to sail rather than travel by land from Christoupolis to Constantinople must have been taken c.837.¹⁸ These are precious chronological pointers: and we are entitled to conclude from this document that as late as the 830s one of the principal roads across the Balkans - the *Via Egnatia* - was still highly unsafe for travel, and that land traffic during this decade between Constantinople and Thessalonica was virtually paralysed at times. By contrast, the same document shows, communications by sea over the eastern Mediterranean were, despite the dangers of Arab piracy, extensive and lively.

The second ninth-century event involving the *Via Egnatia* is, admittedly, hypothetical. In the early spring of 863 a Byzantine embassy left Constantinople for Moravia. Its leaders, Constantine and Methodius, travelled as envoys of the emperor to the Moravian

17. *La vie de Saint Grégoire le D capolite et les Slaves mac doniens au IX  si cle*, ed. F.Dvornik (Paris, 1926), pp.45-75.

18. C.Mango, 'On Re-Reading the Life of St. Gregory the Decapolite', Βυζαντιν , xiii (1985), p.643.

ruler. The purposes of their mission, requested by the Moravians, was to preach Christianity in the native language of the Slavs, to provide them with a Christian liturgy and Scriptures in a language close to their own vernacular, and to build, in the heart of central Europe, a Slav-speaking Church under the joint auspices of Byzantium and Rome. The Cyrillo-Methodian mission, during the first twenty years of its existence, proved to be a bridge of great efficacy and promise between Eastern and Western Christendom.

How did the missionaries travel from Constantinople to Moravia? In default of any precise statement in the sources, it is commonly believed that they took the great diagonal road through Adrianople, Philippopolis, Sofia, Niš and Belgrade, and then up the middle Danube through present-day Hungary. This view rests on two main arguments: the relative shortness and directness of the route; and later traditions, ascribing to Constantine the conversion (presumably *en route*) of the Bulgarians to Christianity. However, the traditions linking Constantine to Bulgaria are today generally recognized as spurious.¹⁹ Moreover in 863, when the mission travelled to Moravia, relations between Byzantium and Bulgaria were strained to breaking-point. The Bulgarian ruler Boris was then an ally of the Franks, and the very next year war broke out between his country and the Empire. It is perhaps unlikely that the Byzantine missionaries would have chosen this time to travel through his realm.

In his book *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs*, published in 1970, Father Dvornik came out with a vigorous plea for the *Via Egnatia*.²⁰ His arguments, which I cannot rehearse here, seem to me, if not conclusive, at least convincing. He believes that Constantine and Methodius travelled along the Egnatian Way through Thessalonica to Dyrrhachium, from there took a boat to Venice, and completed the last lap of their journey across Hungary to Moravia. But whichever route we select as the embassy's most

19. See A.-E. Tachiaos, 'L'origine de Cyrille et de Méthode: Verité et légende dans les sources slaves', *Cyrrilomethodianum*, ii (1972-3), pp.122-140.

20. F.Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs* (New Brunswick, 1970), pp.307-314.

probable itinerary, it can scarcely be denied that, through the bridging and unifying work which Constantine and Methodius were to perform for the common benefit of Byzantium, Rome, and the Slavs, the Balkan peninsula for a brief moment in the 860s was physically and symbolically an intermediary between East and West.

The third of our episodes involving the *Via Egnatia* in this period occurred in 869 and 870. In 869 the legates of Pope Hadrian II travelled from Rome to Constantinople to attend the anti-Photian Council. The next year, the Council having ended, they left for home. The Papal librarian Anastasius, who described their journey, makes it clear that from Dyrrhachium to Constantinople and back the legates travelled along the *Via Egnatia*; and that for their homeward journey along this road the emperor gave them a military escort commanded by a *spatharius*.²¹ For honour or protection? The honour, for the legates, who because of their intransigence in ecclesiastical matters were in bad standing with the emperor, was in any case a paltry one. As for protection, it availed them little in the end. At Dyrrhachium the legates took a ship bound for Ancona; but in mid-Adriatic they fell into the hands of the Narentani, fearsome Slavonic pirates, who fleeced them of everything, including the volume containing the Acts of the Council they had just attended. Louis II, the western emperor, wrote somewhat peevishly to Basil I of Byzantium, to complain that the papal legates had not been given adequate protection on their homeward journey.²²

Barrier or bridge? On the evidence – largely ethnic and geographical – adduced so far, can we decide the status of the Balkans the ninth century? The picture to have emerged is, I would suggest, blurred and untidy. Neither of the two great Balkan thoroughfares – the Belgrade – Constantinople military road nor the *Via Egnatia* – seems to have been greatly used, except by marching armies, or was all that safe for civilian transport, at least until the middle of the

21. Anastasius, Bibliothecarius, *PL*, cxxix, col.39; cf. L.Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ii (Paris, 1892), pp.180-184.

22. *Chronicon Salernitanum*, *MGH, SS*, iii, p.525.

century. We are still far from the time when both roads were used by Crusaders and western pilgrims on their periodic journeys to the east. Yet, as we advance in the century, traffic along these two roads seems to be increasing, and we may guess that their masters had begun to repair and maintain them with greater conviction. The relatively peaceful conditions that prevailed through much of the Balkans after the Byzantine-Bulgarian treaty of 815-816, and especially after the conversion of Bulgaria to Christianity in 864, no doubt encouraged trans-Balkan traffic.

I now come to the second part of my paper and to the question of how far, in the cultural field, the Balkan peoples acted as a bridge between Byzantium and the West. The question of course is too vast to be treated here in a comprehensive manner: so I must cut my losses and be selective. It might, however, be instructive to compare, in this respect, two areas situated at opposite ends of the Balkan peninsula, Bulgaria and Dalmatia.

It will be recalled that in the eighth century, by imperial edict, the dioceses of Illyricum were transferred from the jurisdiction of the Pope to that of the Patriarch of Constantinople. Bulgaria was only partially involved in this high-handed operation, since the greater part of its territory, between the Lower Danube and the Balkan mountains, had formed the Roman provinces of Moesia Inferior and Scythia and had never belonged to the Church of Rome. However, by the time Bulgaria was converted to Byzantine Christianity in 864, its frontiers had expanded south-westward to embrace the area of the Macedonian lakes (including Ohrid), as well as western Albania. This newly annexed region, which had formed part of the Roman provinces of Macedonia and Epirus Nova, belonged to the diocese of Illyricum. So when, in the mid-ninth century, the Papacy began its counter-offensive in the Balkans and directed its main effort to Bulgaria, it could claim that it was seeking to regain the territory which, a hundred years earlier, it had lost in so arbitrary a manner to the Church of Constantinople.

The first Pope to pursue this Balkan policy with vigour and determination was Nicholas I. His chance seemed to come in 866, when King Boris of Bulgaria, disappointed in the Greeks who,

having baptized him, seemed unwilling to grant an adequate status to the nascent Bulgarian church, sent for a clergy to Rome; simultaneously he sent an embassy to the court of Louis the German, requesting Frankish missionaries for his country. The Pope was faster than the Frankish king: two Roman bishops were promptly dispatched to Bulgaria, bearing the Pope's written reply to a list of 106 questions which Boris had sent him. I cannot here discuss in detail this remarkable document, known to its editors as *Responsa Nicolai ad consulta Bulgarorum*.²³ It has many claims on the medievalist's attention. It illustrates the universalist claims of the early medieval Papacy; it casts light on the outlook and ambitions of the Bulgarian ruler; it uncovers the roots of the conflict between the Byzantine and the Roman Churches for the allegiance of the Bulgarian people; it shows that Boris was fully capable of exploiting this rivalry in order to increase the independence and enhance the status of his own church; and it reveals that for the time being at least the Pope understood the mentality of the Bulgarian ruler better than the authorities in Constantinople.

One of Boris' questions which has survived embedded in Nicholas' reply, is worth taking up here, for it illustrates the opposing pressures from east and west to which the Bulgarian monarch was then subjected. He had inquired as to how many true patriarchs there are. His intention was no doubt to sound the Pope on the Greek theory of the pentarchy, according to which the government of the Church is jointly vested in the five patriarchs – those of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem. Boris's next question, as to which of them ranked second after the Bishop of Rome, was, equally obviously, designed to test the Pope's opinion on the Byzantine claim that it was the Patriarch of Constantinople. Nicholas' reply to both questions showed scant regard for the Byzantine position. He admitted that there were five patriarchs in all; but he strongly denied that Constantinople was second among them, declaring that this city, though it called itself 'the New Rome', owed its status to political, rather than rational

23. *PL*, cxix, cols.978-1016.

considerations: 'favore principum potius quam ratione'.²⁴

Boris' interest in patriarchs was, of course, prompted by more than a desire to test the validity of contemporary Greek ecclesiology. It was clear that he badly wanted a patriarch for himself. Nicholas, who had not the slightest intention of granting him one, was content for the moment to side-step the issue.

By 870 Boris was back in the Byzantine fold. Disappointment with the Pope, who would not even let him appoint a primate of his choice, and a disposition to submit to Byzantine diplomatic pressure, were undoubtedly the main reasons for this second volte-face. Three years previously the Patriarch Photius, head of the Byzantine Church, had publicly denounced the Latin missionaries working in Bulgaria, describing them as 'impious and execrable men risen from the darkness of the West', and likening them to a thunderbolt, to violent hail and to a wild boar savagely trampling on the Lord's vineyard. Above all he accused them of spreading the false doctrine that the Holy Spirit proceeds not from the Father alone, as the Nicene Creed has it, but from the Father and the Son. This dogma of the Double Procession of the Holy Spirit (the *Filioque*) Photius proceeded to denounce as downright heresy.²⁵

Bulgaria's peculiar position in the 860s, simultaneously courted by the Churches of Byzantium and Rome, at once a stake and an arena for their jurisdictional and doctrinal rivalry, has highlighted two fundamental issues which were then beginning to divide the body of Christendom. These issues were the Papal primacy and the *Filioque*. As they were henceforth to dominate all discussions between the Roman and the Byzantine Churches, and are still with us today, we must look at them, however briefly. Both issues came to a head in the 860s, and were exacerbated by the clash between the two churches over Bulgaria.

The dispute over the Papal claims was essentially one between the Roman conception of the primacy of the See of Peter, as defined by Leo the Great and Gelasius, and now pressed with new vigour by Nicholas I, and the view held by the Eastern Church of

24. *Ibid.*, col.1012.

25. PG, cii, cols.721-741.

the nature of ecclesiastical authority and government. Most Byzantine churchmen in this period recognized that the Roman see had primacy over all other churches and that the Pope was the first bishop in Christendom. The nature of this primacy, which the Byzantines never defined very precisely, was ascribed by them less to the apostolic origin of the Roman see than to its location in the former capital of the Roman Empire and to its virtually unblemished record of doctrinal orthodoxy. It was rather more than a mere primacy of honour, and, notably in the ninth century, implied a recognition by the Byzantines of the right of any cleric, condemned by his own church authorities, to appeal to Rome. But they never recognized the privilege, claimed by Nicholas I, of summoning any cleric to his court or re-trying in Rome cases affecting the vital interests of the Eastern Church. Believing that a monarchical government of the universal church is contrary both to the canons and to tradition, the Byzantines held that doctrinal truth is expressed not through the mouth of a single bishop, no matter how exalted his office, but by the entire Church, represented by its bishops gathered in an Ecumenical Council.

The addition of the *Filioque* to the Nicene Creed, an addition which expresses the doctrine that the Holy Spirit proceeds not from the Father alone, but from the Father and the Son, seems to have first been made by the Spanish church in the sixth century, as a safeguard against the Arianism of the Visigoths. It was eagerly adopted by Charlemagne, who used it as a weapon against the Greeks. In Rome the *Filioque* was not accepted until the early eleventh century, the Popes holding that, although the addition was theologically justified, it was not desirable to tamper with the version of the creed that had been accepted by the whole of Christendom.

The Byzantine Church objected to the *Filioque* on two grounds. In the first place, any alteration to the creed had been forbidden by the Ecumenical Councils; and nothing short of another such council was competent to rescind this prohibition. Secondly, the *Filioque*, in the Greek view, was theologically untrue. The Patriarch Photius, who protested against its use by Latin missionaries in Bulgaria,

argued that it upsets the delicate and mysterious balance between unity and diversity within the Trinity. I cannot hope to summarize here this complex and technical controversy. One may suggest, perhaps, that in attempting to express the Trinitarian mystery in theological terms, the Latins and the Greeks often started from different points of view: the Latins emphasised the single essence (οὐσία, *substantia*) as the principle of unity within the Trinity, in the light of which they regarded the relations between the Three Persons; while the Greeks preferred to start from the distinction between the Three Persons (ὑποστάσεις), and to proceed from there to consider their unity of essence.

These two divisive issues – the Papal primacy and the *Filioque* – contributed much to the eventual schism between Eastern and Western Christendom. It is not my purpose to date the beginning of this schism. I will merely point out that the Slav rulers of the Balkans continued to behave, through much of the Middle Ages, as though it did not exist. Thus in the voluminous correspondence between Innocent III and the Bulgarian ruler Kaloyan, who had accepted the Pope's jurisdiction, there is not the slightest allusion to any doctrinal difference between the two Churches.²⁶ And of the ten members of the Orthodox Nemanja dynasty who ruled Serbia for the two centuries between 1170 and 1370, one was baptised by a Roman priest, one was crowned by a papal legate, one was influenced by the Catholic loyalties of his French wife, one joined the Roman Church (it is true, after his abdication) and three others, without taking this final step, expressed a readiness to recognize the Pope's authority. When all allowances have been made in these various cases for political opportunism and tactful diplomacy, are we not entitled to conclude that some consciousness of a still united Christendom survived in the Balkans through much of the Middle Ages? If the answer to this question is yes, we will surely be mistaken if we seek, on the religious plane in the Balkan world of the Middle Ages, for any real barrier between East and West.

Was it any different in the second of our two Balkan areas –

26. PL, ccxiv, cols.825 ff., ccxv, cols.155 ff.

Dalmatia? In the ninth century this Byzantine province, sandwiched between the limestone wall of the Dinaric Alps and the Adriatic sea, in a narrow coastal plain stretching from Istria to Montenegro, consisted merely of a few cities and some off-shore islands.²⁷ The countryside between the cities was occupied by the Croats, who in company with the Avars had ravaged Dalmatia in the early seventh century. The cities still held by the empire were inhabited by Latin-speaking descendants of Roman colonists. To emphasize their Italian descent, the Byzantines called them *Romani*, to distinguish them from the *Rhomaioi* (or citizens of the Byzantine Empire). Constantine Porphyrogenitus, writing in the mid-tenth century, gives a list of these imperial cities on the coast. They are, to give their modern names: Zadar, Trogir, Split, Dubrovnik, and Kotor.²⁸ Dalmatia in this period was of great importance to the Empire, as a stepping-stone on the route to Venice and its own possessions in South Italy. Byzantine administration was reasonably secure in the cities; within their walls *Rhomaioi* mingled freely with *Romani*.

The Byzantine presence in Dalmatia was reinforced about the year 870 when, to counter the Arab threat to the Adriatic, this motley province was reorganized into an imperial theme.²⁹ Geographically and culturally, the theme of Dalmatia was well placed to act as an intermediary between Byzantium and the West. It is probable that its cities owed ecclesiastical allegiance to Rome, not to Constantinople. Dvornik, a powerful protagonist of this view, has argued that Dalmatia until 751 belonged to the exarchate of Ravenna and so was never part of Illyricum.³⁰ Hence this region was not involved in the transfer of the dioceses of Illyricum to the church of Constantinople. The view that the theme of Dalmatia belonged in the ninth century to the western church is argued also by the leading modern Croat historian, Nada Klaić.³¹

If ninth-century Dalmatia owed political loyalty to Byzantium

27. See J. Ferluga, *L'amministrazione bizantina in Dalmazia* (Venice, 1978).

28. *De Administrando Imperio*, c. 29, ed. Moravcsik, pp.135-139.

29. See Ferluga, *op.cit.*, pp.165-190.

30. See his *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs*, pp.6-17.

31. *Povijest Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb, 1971), pp.232-238.

and ecclesiastical allegiance to Rome, it would deserve, by this fact alone, to be reckoned a bridge between Byzantium and the West. But there is a further piece of evidence, which may help to focus the picture more sharply. In 925 there convened in Spalatum (modern Split) an ecclesiastical synod, presided over by legates of Pope John X. At the Pope's request the synod issued a decree forbidding the local use of the Slavonic liturgy, except in those districts which lacked an adequate supply of Latin-speaking priests. About 1060 another synod of Spalatum forbade the ordination of Slavs to the priesthood, unless, it specified, they have 'learned Latin letters'.³² Whether the anti-Slav decree of 925 is genuine, or – as some scholars believe – an eleventh-century interpolation, there can be no doubt of the popularity of the Slavonic liturgy in the Byzantine theme of Dalmatia. We do not know by what channel this liturgy was brought to the Adriatic coast, whether from Macedonia, where Methodius' disciples had sought refuge in the late ninth century, or directly from Moravia. The Cyrillo-Methodian vernacular tradition, we have seen, provided a link between Eastern and Western Christendom. Its living presence in Dalmatia, at the beginning of a long history of local Glagolitic writing, is further evidence of the bridging role between Byzantium and the West played by this Balkan region in the early Middle Ages.

It seems hardly possible, at the end of this inquiry, to attempt a general conclusion. The overall picture of the ninth-century Balkans is, I think, too disparate and fragmentary. Perhaps one underlying theme has gradually emerged: a slow revival, after the turmoil of the barbarian invasions, of traffic on the roads, stability in the cities, and organized societies both in the imperial themes and in the Slav, or partly Slav, lands of the north Balkans. In many respects this recovery was a direct result of the political and cultural revival which the Byzantine Empire underwent during the ninth century. The two areas I selected for study have shown little evidence of acting as barriers to East-West communication: Bulga-

32. D. Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum*, iii (Venice, 1765), pp.93-97; F. Rački, *Documenta historiae Chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia* (Zagreb, 1877), pp.191, 195.

ria, though a member of the Byzantine cultural commonwealth by 870, was never in this period closed to the West. Even less so was Dalmatia, whose wide horizons and cosmopolitan culture enabled the narrow confines of this land to become a bridge between the Greek and the Latin worlds. Perhaps in conclusion I may hazard the view that by the second half of the ninth century the Balkan peninsula was becoming once more, in some of its more exposed areas, a land of passage and inter-communication, facing, Janus-like, Byzantium and the West.

III

ASPECTS OF BYZANTINE ATTITUDES AND POLICY TOWARDS THE WEST IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES

J. SHEPARD / CAMBRIDGE

It has been said of Charles de Gaulle that he had, strictly speaking, no "friendships", only "relationships". Much the same could be said of the Byzantine state: that its relationships with other powers were dictated by considerations of their utility to the state, for all the smooth words and invocations of a "special relationship" that the Byzantines dispensed in many different directions. I want to draw your attention to one apparent exception: to Byzantine references, and perhaps attitudes, towards Western Christians in the tenth century, which seem to breathe a "sense of affinity". That "sense" was not, admittedly, particularly robust or well-defined, and we should not be surprised to find that it had faded by the second half of the eleventh century. Perhaps more remarkable is the fact that Byzantine propaganda towards the West seems to have laid special emphasis on the religious ties between Eastern and Western Christendom at a time when Byzantine apprehensions about invasions from the West were mounting. It is ironic that the propaganda concerning Christian fraternity worked all too well in triggering off the First Crusade. Many Westerners seem to have believed it. The Emperor Alexius Comnenus could not believe that they believed it.

It is, of course, very hazardous to generalize about "Byzantine" policy towards the West. While ideological assumptions about the status of Western Christian potentates and of the Roman pope are implied by the *De Cerimoniis*' formulae of addresses for use in correspondence with them, a precise, systematic, formulation of the

relationship between, say, the *basileus* and a *rex* is lacking. Moreover, Byzantine policies towards individual rulers varied according to the ruler's power at a particular moment, and according to their general utility to Byzantine interests. Byzantine expeditionary force commanders could be instructed to jettison an ally who proved insufficiently powerful, and even to hand him over to an adversary in the hope of assuaging him. Such, at least, is the allegation of Liudprand of Cremona, who purports to recount the options enjoined to the commander of the expedition sent to liaise with King Adalbert in Italy in 968.¹ When we also allow for variations in attitude between successive, or even simultaneous, directors of foreign policy in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and further acknowledge the woeful sparsity of source materials, we may feel like abandoning any attempt to trace a pattern, let alone a change, in Byzantine relations with Western Christendom during this period. And the wisdom of this abnegation might seem confirmed by the relatively low strategic priority which Byzantium accorded to its western neighbours in the tenth century. The themes west of Constantinople are listed, as a group, after all the eastern themes in official lists of precedence, and their governors, unlike those of eastern themes, did not receive an annual *roga*. Instead, they were, with the exception of the governors of Thrace and Macedonia, supported directly from their themes.² Moreover, relations of any kind with Western Christians are scarcely mentioned in the Byzantine narrative sources for the tenth and first half of the eleventh century. It was to the north and, above all, to the east that one looked for the most menacing enemies and for glorious feats of Byzantine arms. These were also the quarters whence traders might be expected to come to Constantinople at the turn of the ninth and the tenth centuries. The horizons of the *Book of the Eparch* stretch to the lands of the Bulgars and the "Syrians",

1. Liudpr., *Leg.*, cc.29-30, pp.190-1; M.Arbagi, 'Byzantium, Germany, the *regnum Italicum* and the Magyars in the tenth century', *Byzantine Studies/Etudes byzantines*, vi (1979), pp.47-8.
2. De Cer. II, 50, p.697; N.Oikonomides, *Les listes de prééance byzantines des IX et X siècles* (Paris, 1972), pp.102-5, 244-7; H.Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Etudes d'histoire maritime de Byzance...* (Paris, 1966), p.91.

but no express mention is made of Latin Christians or of goods indubitably imported from west of the Adriatic.³

These sundry caveats have force. Our evidence stems from few sources, and in writing of tenth century attitudes one is to a considerable extent describing those of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. Nonetheless, Byzantium's western approaches *were* of concern to imperial strategists. It was not so much that no disturbances were feared in the West as that heavier blows were raining down regularly from other quarters, notably from the Saracens, "the people now troubling our Roman state", as Leo VI prefaced his outline of warfare on the eastern frontier.⁴ For Byzantium, as for any state which lacks the resources to defend all its interests by means of overwhelming force, foreign policy had to take the form of a balancing of risks. On the whole, diplomacy had to stand in for armies in the defence of Byzantium's western interests, but even the conduct of diplomacy required secure bases on the western shores of the Adriatic, and these, in turn, required periodic armed interventions. In fact, for all the vagaries in policy which the limitations of their power imposed on the Byzantines, certain norms of policy and action are discernible for particular periods.

First, though, a word about the definition of "the West", or rather, about the Byzantines' lack of a clear definition. Much ink has been spilt by historians on various confused remarks in works attributed to Constantine Porphyrogenitus: that the theme of Cephallonia was formerly part of the theme of "Langobardia"; and that "Dalmatia is a region of Italy".⁵ In part, they stem from the ignorant repetition of sources that led Constantine to lump Pavia together with Benevento and Capua in a single province of the

3. For "Saracens", "Syrians" and Bulgars, see *The Book of the Eparch*, v, 1-5; ix, 1, 6; x, 2, introd. by I. Dujčev (London, 1970), pp. 29-31, 39, 40, 42, 153-5, 166, 167-8, 170; cf. C. Cahen, 'Commercial relations between the Near East and Western Europe from the seventh to the eleventh century', in *Islam and the medieval West*, ed. K. I. Semaan (New York, 1980), pp. 7-8, 10-13.

4. Leo VI, *Tactica*, xviii, 109, PG, cvii, col. 972B.

5. *DAI*, c. 50, 11. 85-6; *De Them.*, pp. 94, 40-3; N. Oikonomidès, 'Constantin VII Porphyrogénète et les thèmes de Céphalonie et de Longobardie', *REB*, xxiii (1965), pp. 118-9, 123; von Falkenhausen, pp. 26-7; H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, I (Munich, 1978), p. 533.

empire "in ancient times".⁶ Yet the confusion does reflect a truth - that the defence of the empire's western approaches involved Southern Italy as well as Ionian islands such as Cephallonia. In fact Cephallonia was under the same command as Langobardia for a while in the late ninth century, and again in the 950s a single commander directed the forces of the Balkan provinces and Southern Italy. In both these cases, the purpose of the merger was the better to wage war on the Arabs.⁷ It was the Arabs' lengthy occupation of Bari, gradual conquest of Byzantine Sicily and mounting successes in Southern Italy that had prompted the Byzantine intervention in Southern Italy in the late 860s and early 870s.⁸ Constantine Porphyrogenitus' various accounts of these events, by their very omissions and simplifications, make this clear. And an awareness of the narrowness of the Straits of Otranto, particularly between Apulia and Valona, is shown by Anna Comnena.⁹

Constantine Porphyrogenitus, was, like other Byzantine statesmen, acutely aware that events and power-formations in distant parts could affect Byzantium's own security. This awareness sprang from a sense, not wholly illusory, of how fragile was their position in their European provinces as a whole, in the face of Moslem sea power, a formidable independent Bulgaria, restive Slav subjects within the empire, and provincial governors of often doubtful loyalties. The combination or mere coincidence of two or more of these malign phenomena might bring the whole house of cards of Byzantine rule in the Balkans crashing down. So the emperors needed to identify, monitor and try to isolate every potential source of trouble. They therefore had to maintain contacts over a vast area, and especially with powers in the Mediterranean. For it was the Moslem fleets which loosened Byzantium's hold over

6. *DAI*, c.27, 11.3, 10-11; A.Pertusi, 'Contributi alla storia dei themi bizantini dell' Italia meridionale', *Atti del 3 congresso internazionale di studi sull' alto medioevo* (1956) (Spoleto, 1959), pp.496-7; *DAI: Comm.* (Jenkins), pp.88-9.

7. Pertusi, 'Contributi', p.501; Oikonomidès, 'Constantin VII Porphyrogénète', p.122; von Falkenhausen, p.26.

8. Gay, pp.91-6; Pertusi, 'Contributi', p.498; von Falkenhausen, p.20.

9. *Al. XII*, 7, vol. III, p.81; A.Ducellier, *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au moyen âge. Durazzo et Valona du XI au XV siècle* (Thessalonica, 1981), p.38.

its own provinces most severely. They obliged Byzantium's rulers to think of the Mediterranean as a unity, in terms of strategy and diplomacy, and, looking far beyond Byzantium's immediate neighbours, to take a keen interest in the fortunes and policies of all the regimes on its shores, Christian and Moslem alike. They were the principal reason for the modest consolidation of Byzantium's administration in Dalmatia in the second half of the ninth century. As J.Ferluga has observed, it was primarily the perils posed by Moslem raiders that prompted the despatch of a large fleet from Constantinople to the Adriatic and the subsequent creation of the theme of Dalmatia.¹⁰ The staff of the *strategos* of the new theme was diminutive, and Basil I attenuated the Byzantine presence in Dalmatia even further when he ordered that the payments hitherto made by the coastal cities to the *strategos* be paid henceforth directly to the Slavs of the interior, so as to halt their depredations and "live at peace with them".¹¹ Constantine VII shows canny appreciation of the need to keep up imperial appearances, in relating Basil's instruction that only "some slight payment" be paid to the *strategos* by the cities henceforth. He comments that this was "as a simple token of submission and servitude to the emperors of the Romans and their *strategos*"¹²; judging by his own indications, the token was wafer-thin. As Ferluga has suggested, the principal Byzantine armed presence in the area is likely to have been a naval one. That, at least, is the sole kind of armed forces for which we have literary evidence, in the form of the *De Cerimoniis*' mention of seven ships crewed by Rus' which were summoned from stations off Dalmatia and Dyrrachium to participate in the 949 Cretan expedition.¹³ The imperial government was less interested in "governing" Dalmatia's interior than in preventing powerful outsiders from gaining a foothold on its coastline. The defences in the area of Dyrrachium and Nicopolis were likewise directed against attacks from the sea, mainly from Moslems but also to some extent from Croatian

10. J.Ferluga, *L'amministrazione bizantina in Dalmazia* (Venice, 1978), p.166.

11. *DAI*, c.30, 11.124-9; Ferluga, *Amministrazione*, pp.168, 176-9.

12. *DAI*, c.30, 11.130-2; cf. Ferluga, *Amministrazione*, p.187.

13. *De Cer.* II, 45, pp.664, 667-8; Ferluga, *Amministrazione*, pp.170, 185-6.

Narentani.¹⁴ Although the number of fully equipped naval bases in the theme of Dyrrachium seems to have been very modest, Byzantine ships could assemble at such points as Valona and Chimaera and prevent raiders from establishing themselves permanently on the coastline.¹⁵ The Dyrrachium theme's defensive system has been described by A. Ducellier as "agencé en fonction de la mer",¹⁶ a description which would also befit the origins and primary functions of the themes of Nicopolis and Cephallonia.¹⁷ Ducellier has also remarked of Dyrrachium and its area that Byzantium regarded it as "une sorte de marche à demi étrangère qu'on s'efforçait beaucoup moins de défendre pour elle-même qu'en considération du reste de l'Empire".¹⁸

It would be surprising if the intrinsic safety and well-being of populations living on the far side of the Adriatic had been of any more pressing concern to strategists in Constantinople. At the same time, the government's very inability to suppress Saracen piracy or to win the initiative in the Aegean made it imperative to maintain a series of footholds as far-flung westwards as possible. If the government could not even secure its own home waters, it could at least maintain distant observation posts and hope, through diplomacy, to create diversions for its waterborne foes¹⁹ and to dissolve any putative grand coalition of enemies.

Hence we find that Byzantium reserved for itself all the main ports of Apulia, from the Bay of Taranto to as far north as Siponto. The latter held out against repeated attacks from the rulers of

14. Ferluga, *Amministrazione*, p.181; P.Soustal and J.Koder, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia, Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, III, ed. H.Hunger (Vienna, 1981), p.54, n.69.

15. Ducellier, *Façade maritime*, pp.6,39,41,60,92.

16. Ducellier, *Façade maritime*, p.44.

17. D.A.Zakythinos, 'La thème de Céphalonie et la défense de l'Occident', *L'Hellénisme Contemporain*, 2 série, viii (1954), pp.309-12; Oikonomidès, 'Constantin VII Porphyrogénète', pp.119, 122-3; Ahrweiler, pp.95-6; Soustal and Koder, *Nikopolis*, pp.52-4.

18. Ducellier, *Façade maritime*, p.45; cf. p.60.

19. For the encouragement of rebellion and civil war on Sicily, see Gay, pp.212-3; Y.Lev, 'The Fatimid navy, Byzantium and the Mediterranean sea, 909-1036 C.E.', *B*, liv (1984), pp.232-3.

Naples and Benevento during the first half of the tenth century.²⁰ There is evidence of the devotion of considerable effort, if not of resources, by the central government to the fortification of the ports and also of population centres. A notarial formula providing for the foundation of a *kastron* upon the emperor's command seems to have been valid in Southern Italy as well as in other parts of the empire.²¹ Such foundations seem to have been quite a common phenomenon. The building of fortified refuges and the fortifying of towns and townlets in tenth century Southern Italy is attested by inscriptions and by narrative sources. Romanus I is said to have ordered the building of "the new fort in the city of Taranto" "after the rebels and the peoples of turbulent Calabria had been subdued", while the final selection of the site of a new town apparently lay with the emperor himself.²² No attempt seems to have been made to provide, as it were, leak-proof protection for the Calabrian coastline, and it was the policy of Nicephorus II and, probably, of other emperors to enjoin the inhabitants to move to more secure sites inland and to build *civitates* there.²³ In practice, and to some extent by imperial design, the towns and population of Calabria acted as buffers or even decoys, diverting the Moslems from raids further afield into the Adriatic, while also discouraging their permanent installation in Calabria.²⁴ Apulia was the principal beneficiary of this strategy, enduring far fewer raids than Calabria. But there, too, the main goal was one of defence – the denial of the ports and natural harbours to Byzantium's enemies. The rebuilding of Gallipoli as a strongpoint on the eastern approaches to the Bay of

20. von Falkenhausen, pp.32,34,41-2.

21. G.Ferrari dalle Spade, 'Formulari notarili inediti dell' età bizantina', repr. in *Scritti giuridici*, I (Milan, 1953), pp.337,349; von Falkenhausen, pp.148-9. The urgency of the need to repair ruined fortresses is impressed upon the governor of Langobardia by Nich. Myst., no.80,11.1-6.

Scritti giuridici, I (Milan, 1953), pp.337,349; von Falkenhausen, *Dominazione*, pp.148-9. The urgency of the need to repair ruined fortresses is impressed upon the governor of Langobardia by Nich. Myst., no.80,11.1-6.

22. *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, iv (Berlin, 1877), ed. H.Roehl, no.8709, p.330; no.8689, p.318 (Taormina); E.Caspar (ed.), *Die Chronik von Tres Tabernae in Calabrien, Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* x (1907), pp.36-7; von Falkenhausen, pp.149-51.

23. Caspar, *Chronik*, p.34; von Falkenhausen, p.42, n.122.

24. Gay, pp.201-2, 213-4; von Falkenhausen, pp.41-3.

Taranto was a major event, directed by Basil I and entailing population transplants and the elevation of the town to episcopal status. Yet the description of the new town inserted into Scylitzes' chronicle lays emphasis not on its harbour facilities but on its inaccessibility and virtual impregnability. It was "washed around by the sea on every side, and having only a single entrance by dry land, exceedingly narrow and offering a single passage-way through it to those going in".²⁵

It is probably no accident of source survival that evidence of Byzantine naval vessels is very scanty for the themes of both Calabria and Langobardia. Units of the emperor's fleet were sent from Constantinople to oppose major Saracen incursions in the later ninth century; they were also the principal components of the periodic Byzantine offensives or counter-offensives on Sicily, as well as of the celebrated campaign against the Garigliano Saracens in 915.²⁶ Our evidence suggests that such naval vessels as were stationed permanently in Italian waters were few in number, and that their role was confined to patrolling the coasts. On a few occasions, they are mentioned as engaging small groups of raiders, as, for example, when seven ships under the *strategos* of Calabria engaged four Sicilian ships, only to suffer defeat.²⁷ They were probably more efficacious in summoning units of the land army to come and harass those Saracens whose stay in an area exceeded the limits of an ordinary raid. Limited as such a role was, it served to deny the Saracens a permanent presence on the Italian mainland and to reserve footholds for imperial rule even in Calabria. Seeing that ships in this period hugged the coast whenever possible,²⁸ the Byzantine authorities had the means to monitor such traffic as passed between North Africa and the northern shores of the Mediterranean. And from these Southern Italian vantage points alert intelligence work could be combined with timely and often

25. Scyl., p.151; A.Jacob, 'Une mention d'Ugento dans la chronique de Skylitzès', *REB*, xxxv (1977), p.235.

26. Gay, pp.161-2; Ahrweiler, pp.112-13; von Falkenhausen, pp.135-7.

27. E.Eickhoff, 'Byzantinische Wachtflootten in Unteritalien im 10. Jahrhundert', *BZ*, xlv (1952), pp.341-2.

28. A.L.Udovitch, 'Time, the sea and society...', *Settimane di studio*, xxv,2 (1978), pp.543-5.

grandiose diplomatic *démarches* towards Moslem and Christian potentates alike.

Of course, this policy did not represent free choice so much as focussing on a few objectives from among a narrow range of options. The central government did not have the means to finance a more ambitious policy in Southern Italy. The coastal areas of Calabria were too impoverished and depopulated to provide for a sizeable fleet, while any policy or strategy which involved substantial exactions from the local population risked arousing active resistance. In 965 the inhabitants of Rossano revolted, "aroused by passionate fervour, to which the Calabrians always succumb before all people". They burnt the ships which they had been required to build and butchered the helmsmen, and their example was followed by the inhabitants of "the other *kastra*" in Calabria.²⁹ The ferocity of their reaction may have been aggravated by the enormity of the imposition placed upon them – the provision of an entire fleet for a renewed Sicilian expedition. But there is no reason to doubt the statement of the *Vita* of St. Nilus that the people of Rossano did not tolerate this, "since they were unaccustomed to rendering services in the form of warships".³⁰ It matches with the sparsity of references to an operational navy in Southern Italian waters. Where the interests of the local inhabitants coincided with imperial strategy, cooperation was possible, as in the construction of *kastra* and *kastellia*. But a more active strategy, such as a major offensive against the Saracens, could actually undermine the government's position, by provoking a revolt by the Italians.³¹ Even the passive payment of tribute could have the same effect, if the sum made very heavy demands on the local population. The more or less simultaneous revolts in Calabria and Langobardia c.920-22 were probably at least partly due to their obligation to provide the annual

29. *Vita Nili Junioris*, PG, cxx, col. 105A-B; Eickhoff, 'Wachtflotillen', p.341; Ahrweiler, p.116; n.5; von Falkenhausen, p.138.

30. *Vita Nili Junioris*, col.105A-B.

31. The citadel of Taranto was actually built after a Calabrian revolt "with the help of the Saracens", *Corp. Inscript. Graec.*, iv, no.8709, p.330; Gay, pp.211-12. The government could not afford to be fastidious as to whose assistance it gained for the retention of its precious strongholds.

tribute sum of 22,000 gold pieces payable to the Fatimids.³² Such disturbances were liable to have awkward repercussions for an administration already pressed for manpower and other resources. The Langobardia revolt seems to have necessitated a military levy in the theme of Peloponnesus, for service on the other side of the Adriatic. However, "these same Peloponnesians opted against military service", and to provide instead a thousand saddled horses and one hundred pounds "in ready money".³³ While they are said to have supplied these "with great readiness", they nonetheless were thwarting the emperor's original intentions. They probably owed their freedom to commute their military service in part, at least, to the fact that the Ezeritai and the Milingoi, two tribes of Peloponnesian Slavs, were then in revolt.³⁴

The flexibility shown by the government in the Peloponnese on this occasion recalls the extreme indulgence with which Nicephorus Phocas is said to have treated "the Lombard people" while he was commander-in-chief in Southern Italy. According to Leo VI, "he did not only bring this people under his power through wars well waged, but also by using shrewdness and equity and good-heartedness..., and granting them freedom from every service and other tax obligations (*phorologion*)".³⁵ Leo was offering advice on how to subdue hostile foreign peoples by peaceful means, and perhaps he was exaggerating the extent of Nicephorus Phocas' indulgence. Yet beneath Leo's bland and high-flown phrases is discernible the Byzantine dilemma. Having volatile and porous "inner" frontiers in

32. Scyl., p.263. The Calabrians' revolt is convincingly attributed to the tribute payment by S.Runciman, *The emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his reign* (Cambridge, 1929), p.187. No source mentions any liability of the Apulians to contribute to these payments, but so large an annual payment may have been beyond the capacity of Calabria alone to meet. Scyl.'s statement (p.263) that Landulf of Capua-Benevento was involved in the Calabrians' revolt need not necessarily represent a confusion with his better-attested involvement in the revolt of Langobardia.

33. *DAI*, c.51,11.199-204.

34. R.J.H.Jenkins, 'The date of the Slav revolt in the Peloponnese under Romanus I', *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in honor of A.M.Friend* (Princeton, 1955), p.206, repr. in his *Studies on Byzantine history of the 9th and 10th centuries* (London, 1970), XX; *idem*, *DAI: Comm.*, p.204.

35. Leo VI, *Tactica*, xv, 38, col.896D; Gay, p.135; von Falkenhausen, p.27.

the waters of the Aegean, the Peloponnese and Macedonia, the Constantinopolitan regime needed to compensate for its lack of mastery of what should have been home ground and home waters. It therefore sought to control a network of far-flung bases. Yet the mere maintenance of footholds west of the Adriatic could cost more in tribute payments to the Saracens or in military operations than the indigenous population was willing to pay. Moreover, Calabrian or Lombard revolts were themselves costly to subdue, and could upset the delicate balance of imperial rule in the Balkans. It was therefore not utterly absurd of Prince Landulf of Capua-Benevento to request appointment as "*strategos* of all Langobardia" in 921.³⁶ The government's response was that "before all else (*pro pantos allow*) you must abandon the *kastra* which you never before had under your authority". Had Landulf been willing to give up these objects of prime concern to the government and to send "another" of his sons to Constantinople, Nicholas Mysticus' avowal that the emperors "will grant your request and proclaim you *strategos* of all Langobardia" might have been honoured.³⁷

The degrees of imperial dominance within the many areas of strategic concern were so varied, and varying, that acts of "administration" shade off into acts of "diplomacy". The patchiness of imperial rule over the lands to the west of Constantinople impelled the government to seek out all such powers as were to be found there. On one occasion, in 957/8, the emperor could even propose a "perpetual truce" with the Fatimid caliph, while he had, a few years earlier, formed an actual alliance with the Cordoba caliphate against the Fatimids.³⁸ However, as al-Muizz tartly reminded the importunate Byzantine envoy, "If a perpetual truce were agreed upon, the holy war, which was a religious duty for all believers, would fall into abeyance, the propagation of Islam would cease and the command of the Koran would be contravened".³⁹ Even the

36. Nich. Myst. no.82, 11.49-50, 65-6; von Falkenhausen, p.35.

37. Nich. Myst. no.82, 11.55-8, 62-7; *contra* Gay, pp.205-6; Runciman, p.188.

38. A.A.Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, ii, 1 (Brussels, 1968), pp.375-6, 420-1; Stern, pp.242-3, 244-5.

39. al-Numan, tr. in Stern, p.246; cf. Vasiliev, *Arabes*, ii, 1, p.421.

amicable relations between Constantinople and Cordoba took the form of active naval cooperation for only a brief period in the mid-tenth century. That left the Western Christian potentates as residual candidates for lasting alliances or marriage-ties. One might expect to find Byzantium's rulers turning to them begrudgingly, *faute de mieux*, as ineffectual counterweights to Moslems, Lombards and "turbulent Calabria". But in fact, as we shall see, the Byzantine attitude was considerably more enthusiastic than that.

I have little time to dwell on the frailties of the administration in Greece and Macedonia. To the question of whether the likelihood of Slav revolts and Bulgarian invasions was real or imagined by imperial strategists I shall answer by referring you to chapters 49 and 50 of the *De Administrando Imperio*. These recount three successive "revolts" by the Peloponnesian Slavs. The third of them amounted to a state of *de facto* independence⁴⁰ for some time before a new governor was sent out with instructions to quash the revolt. It took an eight-month campaign against the Ezeritai and the Milingoi to make them sue for peace and to agree to pay far heavier tribute burdens (*pakta*) than they had done before.⁴¹ Only about a year later, probably in 922, the Peloponnese was invaded by another group of the emperor's restive subjects, the "Slavesians". The emperor agreed drastically to reduce the tribute load of the Peloponnesian Slavs to its former level, fearing, in the *DAI*'s words, they "might join forces" with the "Slavesians" and "bring about the total destruction of this ... province".⁴² His efforts were of limited effect for, as R.Jenkins argued, these "Slavesians" were rebel Slavs from Northern Greece or Macedonia, who seem to have been acting in collaboration with Symeon of Bulgaria. Part of the Peloponnese was actually occupied by the Bulgars for three years, from c.922 to 925.⁴³ Even after Symeon's death, the "Slavesians"

40. *DAI*, c.50, 11.29-30.

41. *DAI*, c.50, 11.25-53; Jenkins, 'Slav revolt', p.205; *idem*, *DAI: Comm.*, p.186.

42. *DAI*, c.50, 11.64-6.

43. Jenkins, 'Slav revolt', pp.205-6; cf. A.Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin* (Paris, 1951), pp.48,79-80; M.W.Weithmann, *Die slavische Bevölkerung auf der griechischen Halbinsel. Ein Beitrag zur historischen Ethnographie Südosteuropas* (Munich, 1978), pp.125-6, 129-30.

remained unruly. Around 933 Liudprand of Cremona's father was attacked outside Thessalonica by "certain Slavs who were rebels against the Emperor Romanus and depopulated his land". And at about the same time rebel subjects of Tsar Peter of Bulgaria pillaged throughout the themes of Hellas and Nicopolis.⁴⁴ Imperial authority had also to reckon with conspiracies and "disorder and strife" from its own officials in the western provinces: at least one, possibly two such incidents occurred there in the 920s.⁴⁵

The lawless roads of the Aegean should be viewed in the light of the shortcomings of imperial power inland. The Cretan Arabs' power and organization have been vigorously stressed by V. Christides.⁴⁶ He adduces Arabic sources as well as Byzantine saints' *Vitae* to argue that other islands besides Crete were occupied or made tributary, while inshore islands such as Aegina were abandoned for long periods, and coastal areas of the mainland were raided repeatedly. While some of the hagiographical sources are of doubtful value, notably the *Vita* of Theoctistus of Lesbos,⁴⁷ others, such as the *Vitae* of Euthymius the Younger, Luke the Younger and Peter of Argos, do appear to be trustworthy. Although seldom explicit about the provenance of the Arab raiders, they show that the "Ishmaelite" marauders were already in the mid-ninth century "ruling the sea (*thalassokratountes*) and preying on (*peirateuontes*) all bays, promontories and beaches" in the region of the Gulf of Corinth, while every year, by the early tenth century, Cretan pirates were "lying in wait on islands and (by) coastal towns and villages and seizing those who happened to come by". Even towards the end of the life of Luke the Younger († 953), his devotees saw fit to ask him, "Why do you like to frequent the coasts, being much troubled by the tumult from the boats and from those travelling by?" Presumably they had in mind raiders, as well as the bustle of admirers.⁴⁸ The picture sketched by these *Vitae* is borne out by

44. Theo. Con. VI, 29, p. 420; Liudpr., *Ant.* III, 24, p. 83; Weithmann, *Bevölkerung*, p. 126.

45. *DAI*, c. 30, 11.55-9; Jenkins, 'Slav Revolt', pp. 207-8.

46. Christides, pp. 86-9, 94-6, 97-8.

47. A. P. Kazhdan, 'Hagiographical notes', *B*, liv (1984), p. 181.

48. *Vita Lucae Junioris*, *PG*, cxi, cols. 444A-B, 464B-C; *Vita Petri Argivi*, 14, ed. I.

archaeological evidence from Carpathos. The inhabitants of the island seem to have withdrawn inland from coastal settlements, in a manner reminiscent of tenth century Calabria, and subsequently to have founded or fortified hilltop settlements such as Elympos or Mesochoria, while the pirates maintained small bases and fresh water cisterns on islets off Carpathos's coast.⁴⁹ Geography and common sense suggest that, while not all the pirates hailed from Crete, they were greatly assisted by the proximity of its friendly ports and stimulated by the prospect of sales in its slave markets. A student of the Aegean of a slightly later period has remarked: "Economiquement, administrativement, culturellement, socialement mais aussi territorialement, il n'y a pas de monde égéen byzantin sans la Crète".⁵⁰

The fleet which sacked Thessalonica in 904 was an independent band, but it obviously benefitted from Crete being in friendly hands, and it put in to Crete and sold many of the captives there.⁵¹ Small wonder that colossal efforts were made by the Byzantine state to reconquer "accursed Crete". Constantine Porphyrogenitus wrote of the Cretan problem that it "will be our concern as night and day we use up our spirit on its behalf".⁵² The six or more expeditions sent to recapture it in the ninth and tenth centuries are well-known, as are the details of the composition of the forces in 911 and 949.⁵³

Cozza-Luzi, *Novae Patrum Bibliothecae: Maio*, ix, 3 (1888), p.10; G. Da Costa-Louillet, 'Saints de Grèce aux VIII, IX et X siècles', *B*, xxxi (1961), pp.322-3, 333; Christides, pp.87-8; Kazhdan, 'Notes', pp.179-80.

49. N.K.Moutsopoulos, *Karpathos*, in *Epistemonike Epeterida tes Polytechnikes Scholes*, vii (1975-7) (Thessalonica 1978), pp.310,344,358-60; Christides, pp.81-2.

50. E.Malamut, 'Les îles de la mer égée de la fin du XI siècle à 1204', *B*, lii (1982), p.312.

51. John Caminiates, *De Expugnatione Thessalonicae*, ed. G.Böhlig (Berlin-New York, 1973), pp.59, 62-3. While A.P.Kazhdan has shown that this work in its extant form is most unlikely to have been written by an eye-witness ('Some questions addressed...', *BZ*, lxxi [1978], pp.306-10), it most probably incorporates material from an early tenth century source: V.Christides, 'Once again Caminiates' "Capture of Thessaloniki"', *BZ*, lxxiv (1981), pp.7-9.

52. Theo. Con., II, 26, p.81; cf. *ibid.*, VI, 7, p.473; *De Cer.*,II, 44, p.651.

53. Ahrweiler, pp.106, 112-5; Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Histoire maritime*, pp.92-4; Christides, pp.89-91, 94, 96.

Rather less well-known are the measures taken in the diplomatic sphere. They show how fearful the Byzantines were of the possibility of joint action by the Moslem fleets, which they must needs avert through vigorous diplomacy. When yet another Cretan expedition was proposed by Romanus II, some of his senatorial advisers argued strongly against it, "fearing the danger of the sea and the great alliance of the nearby Saracens and the fleets of the Spaniards and the Africans".⁵⁴ Their fears were not wholly illusory. The Cretans did seek help in 960 from both the Egyptians and the Fatimids, al-Muizz wrote a letter to Romanus repudiating the truce and fleets were prepared in both Egypt and Fatimid North Africa. Sectarian hostility prevented them from actually liaising to assist the Cretans, and no effective aid reached Crete. But the eventual success of the expedition evoked widespread calls for a *Jihad* in the Moslem world.⁵⁵ The Byzantines' numerous embassies to the Fatimids in the 940s were intended to dissuade them from raiding Southern Italy as well as from aiding Crete. But the neutralization of the Fatimid fleet must have been one of the purposes behind Constantine's proposal of a perpetual truce in 957/8. Al-Muizz's rebuff to this proposal did not staunch the flow of Byzantine embassies to his court.⁵⁶ Neutralization was certainly the aim of those embassies to the Cordoban caliphate which stopped short of negotiating an outright alliance with the Umayyads against the Fatimids. It can scarcely be a coincidence that Byzantium initiated a vigorous round of embassies during the period of its preparations for the Cretan expedition of 949.⁵⁷ Among the lavish gifts despatch-

54. Theo. Con., VI, 8, p.474; cf. VI, 11, p.477; cf. Leo VI, *Tactica*, xx, 212, col.1072B-C. The Hamdanid emir did in fact exploit the Byzantines' preoccupation with Crete to mount a land offensive: Leo the Deacon, *Historia*, II, 1, ed. C.B.Hase (Bonn, 1828), pp.17-18.

55. Stern, pp.251-2; Christides, pp.100-1, 104-5, 109; Lev, 'Fatimid navy', pp.236, n.75; 238-9.

56. Stern, p.250.

57. Liudpr., *Ant.*, VI, 5-6, pp.154-5; *De Cer.*, II, 15, pp.571, 580; E.Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, II (Paris-Leiden, 1950), pp.149-53; Vasiliev, *Byz. et Arabes*, II,1, pp.322-3. An exact chronology has yet to be worked out for these embassies, but at least two Byzantine missions visited Spain between 947 and 951.

ed to the Umayyad caliph were a copy of Orosius in Latin, described as "an admirable history of the Romans, containing traditions on past centuries (and) tales of the kings of yore". Some years later, in or after 955, the caliph received from the emperor 140 columns, seemingly of marble, for the embellishment of his residence at Madinat al-Zahra.⁵⁸

We happen to possess some figures for the deployment of the Byzantine fleet in the Mediterranean in 949. The text is corrupt and one cannot be sure how many vessels are left out of the list for one reason or another. However, the compiler of the text goes to some lengths to describe the assignments of particular vessels – for example, to cut timber for next year's boat building. So he may well offer a reasonably complete picture of Byzantium's capital ships. Approximately one hundred and seven ships of the imperial fleet and twenty nine vessels of the theme fleets made up the task force sent to Crete. The total of some 136 vessels includes seven Rus' boats which were summoned from their Adriatic stations to take part in the expedition.⁵⁹ Approximately 60 vessels of the imperial and theme fleets stayed behind, mainly in order to guard the home coasts. As many as 36 of them were assigned to give "the God-protected City" a double safeguard, while five were to guard "the lord Stephen, the brother of the emperor's wife", who was confined to the island of Rhodes. This order of priorities suggests a sense of dynastic instability as well as of vulnerability to lightning raids by Moslems, and perhaps also from Rus' descending on Constantinople from the north. Figures of the sizes of fleets are, even if accurate, unrevealing as to the fighting qualities of those fleets. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that Byzantine chroniclers tend to stress the great size of the Moslem fleets in comparison with their own fewer but brave ships.⁶⁰ And the figures for the fleets of the Umayyads and the Fatimids in the mid-tenth century are huge. Their fleets, numbering approximately 200 ships a side, fought one another, and

58. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, II, pp.148-9,151; Vasiliev, *Byz. et Arabes*, II,1, pp.328-331; *ibid.*, II,2 (Brussels, 1950), p.186.

59. *De Cer.* II,45, pp.664-5,666-8; Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Histoire maritime*, p.94; Vasiliev, *Byz. et Arabes*, II,1, pp.333-5; Ferluga, *Amministrazione*, pp.185-6.

60. Scyl., p.191; Theo. Con., V,60; VI,14,29; pp.299-300,405,453.

the Umayyad fleet in the Mediterranean alone numbered some 300 vessels.⁶¹ These were, of course, state fleets, and the Moslem groupings which preyed on the Aegean littoral were probably far smaller. But their very multiplicity made it the harder for Byzantium to curb their movements, as witness the assignment of roughly one third of the fleet to guard duties in 949. The general impression of Byzantine puniness and Moslem wealth of resources is, I think, a valid one. Contemporaries were ruthfully aware of "the countless sums of money gone down the drain" on expeditions to Crete and, specifically, "of how much money was spent, and how many men lost" on those of Leo VI and Constantine VII.⁶² Yet the total of approximately 136 vessels sent to Crete in 949 was not so very imposing in comparison with the fleets of the Western Moslems. In fact, over half of them were either light galleys, *ousiai* or *ousiaka chelandia*, vessels which were in some sense ancillary to the 20 *dromons* and 17 *pamphyloi*.⁶³ It was, I suggest, in full awareness of the limitations of their own sea power that the Byzantines sought to bedazzle the Umayyads with fine *objets d'art* and "tales of the kings 'of yore'". At the same time, the Viking Rus' boats which conveyed one of the Byzantine embassies to Spain were a none too subtle hint that the Byzantines had some nasty friends in their pay.⁶⁴

It was, then, out of a sense of vulnerability that Byzantine rulers sought to neutralize Western Moslem powers and to set them against one another. For the same reason they were anxious to nip in the bud any possible combination of enemies or construction of great fleets. In order to do so, they needed to survey the whole of the Mediterranean, and thus to have some secure ports in the

61. E. Lévi-Provençal, *L'Espagne musulmane au X siècle* (Paris, 1932), p.153; *idem*, *Histoire*, II, p.170; M. Lombard, *Espaces et réseaux du haut moyen âge* (Paris, 1972), p.111 and n.11 on p.141.

62. Theo. Con., VI,8, p.474; cf. *Vita S. Pauli iunioris*, ed. H. Delehay, in *Der Latmos*, ed. T. Wiegand (Berlin, 1913), p.122,1.19.

63. *De Cer.*, II,45, pp.664-5. Divergent interpretations of *ousiai* and *ousiaka chelandia* in Ahrweiler, pp.416-7; E. Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland* (Berlin, 1966), p.148.

64. *De Cer.*, II,45, p.664. On the various gifts and letters sent to the Umayyad Caliph, and on the Viking raids of 964 and 971, see Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire*, II, pp.148-53, 169-70.

Central Mediterranean, which in practice meant Southern Italy and the eastern shore of the Adriatic. Three examples may illustrate the range of the Byzantine scan of the inland seas and the first, at least, shows that it had some strategic justification. In the early 920s Symeon of Bulgaria made at least two attempts to enlist the services of a Moslem fleet for an assault on Constantinople – from a large force of raiders which hailed from Tarsus, and from the Fatimid caliph of North Africa. Both bids came to nothing.⁶⁵ The Bulgarian ship bound for Africa is said to have “escaped detection”, and it was only on the return voyage that it “encountered the Calabrians”. The ambassadors were sent to Emperor Romanus I, and he is said “to have learnt the precise details of the joint action and understood that if this came about, he would be beset by no small anxieties”. The despatch of lavish gifts and a pledge to resume hefty tribute payments to the Fatimids aborted their planned alliance with the Bulgarians.⁶⁶ Rather simpler methods were used to nip in the bud the establishment of relations between Moslem Spain and Khazaria. Some time in the 950s, a Jewish senior official of the caliph tried to make contact with Khazaria, the land ruled by a Judaist élite of which he had heard reports. The official, whose name was Hasday, sent a messenger bearing a letter to the Khazar ruler, together with a covering letter for the Byzantine emperor, asking him to help the messenger on his way. Far from helping the messenger, the emperor detained him and the Umayyad envoys with whom he had travelled for six months. Eventually, the messenger was sent back to Spain with a letter for his master stating: “As for the journey between us and [the Khazars], one must say that there are peoples living between us, at odds with one another”; moreover, “the sea is stormy, and one can only cross it at a certain time” – including, presumably, the time of the messenger’s detention⁶⁷ Thus the emperor stifled, when he could, every contact between powers

65. On Symeon’s overtures to the raiders from Tarsus, Syria and Egypt, see Vasiliev, *Byz. et Arabes*, II,1, pp.253-4; II,2, p.32.

66. Scyl., pp.264-5; Runciman, *Lecapenus*, p.90; Eickhoff, ‘Wachtflotillen’, p.342; Vasiliev, *Byz. et Arabes*, II,1, pp.251-2.

67. tr. in P.K.Kokovtsov, *Evreysko-khazarskaya perepiska v X veke* (Leningrad, 1932), p.64.

looking onto the inland seas. This vision of the significance of connexions across the Mediterranean, and even Black Sea, may seem phantasmogoric. But it was rooted in reality, as the Byzantine ban on the Venetians' export of timber and weapons to the Fatimids suggests. In 971 envoys were sent to the doge "threatening terribly" that if ships were found bearing to the Moslems wood suitable for boat building, the ships together with crews and cargoes would all be burnt.⁶⁸ It is customary to point out that this decree, like earlier ones, was largely ineffectual.⁶⁹ But I think it does illustrate clearly what might be called the Byzantines' sense of the Mediterranean as a unity – a threatening unity which they must dislocate. Their wariness was based on sound premises. The Fatimid fleet was more than a match for Byzantium's, so it was advisable to try to abort it, by denying the Fatimids the timber which they needed for constructing the fleet.⁷⁰

But where, you must be asking, does the Christian West come into all this? My answer is: "not much". At least, it *should* be "not much" by strictly utilitarian criteria. For, in the tenth century, Western Christian potentates were, for the most part, in charge of even more precarious and ramshackle regimes than the Byzantines'. Even the mightiest of them was comparatively poor, and a landlubber, as Nicephorus Phocas and his officials reminded Liudprand of Cremona, referring to his master, Otto I: "Your lord does not have a great number of fleets at sea" declared Nicephorus. "To me alone belongs the valour of mariners. I will attack him with my fleets, I will destroy his maritime cities..." The officials claimed that not even Saxony, "poor and dressed in skins" would shelter Otto: "through money, by which we are strong, we shall incite all peoples against

68. ed. G.L.F.Tafel and G.M.Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig, Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, xii (1856), pp.26,27.

69. E.g. R.S.Lopez and I.W.Raymond, *Medieval trade in the Mediterranean world* (New York, 1955), p.333, n.9; Lombard, *Espaces*, p.134.

70. On the Fatimids' lack of wood: Lombard, *Espaces*, pp.127-32; Lev, 'Fatimid navy', p.245. Lev, while stressing the shortcomings of the Fatimid navy, does not deny the great significance which the Fatimids themselves attached to the formation of a fleet, or their naval offensive in the East Mediterranean immediately after the conquest of Egypt (pp.239-40, 244-5, 250-1).

him, and we shall shatter him like an earthen vessel".⁷¹ No doubt these words are bravado, and we cannot be sure that they were ever actually uttered. But they do suggest Byzantine awareness of realities, as does Nicephorus' jibe that Otto's forces had not even managed to take "the one little city" of Bari, a point perhaps too near the bone for Liudprand to have invented it.⁷² If Otto the Great could not capture the Byzantine ports of Apulia, it was unlikely that the Lombard princes of Capua-Benevento or Spoleto would pose a really grave threat to them. This is not the place to examine in detail the empire's policy towards them, but the analysis of Gay and Runciman still seems to hold good: for lengthy spells the Lombard princes were able to occupy Apulia's hinterland; the imperial government might occasionally ally with a potentate from the north and drive out the Lombards, but these shows of force were ephemeral. Thus Lombards were marauding in Apulia soon after an imperial expeditionary force had, with the help of King Hugh of "Italy", expelled Landulf of Capua.⁷³ Hugh of Arles could do little permanently to curb the Lombards and the imperial government seems to have been largely indifferent to the fate of the hinterland so long as the coastal towns were secure – a policy differing in degree rather than in kind from that followed in the Balkan provinces of the empire. The bland distortions of Scylitzes' *Chronicle* are, I think, suggestive of governmental propaganda and priorities. After a sketchy account of Landulf's intervention in Southern Italy in, probably, 921, Scylitzes (or rather, most probably, his source) claims that Landulf was browbeaten into withdrawing by the threat of massive retaliation, and that thereafter "deep peace again dominated affairs in Italy and Langobardia".⁷⁴ Nothing could be further from the truth. Equally suggestive is the fact that this brief mention of wholly Italian affairs is set in an excursus on the war against the Western Moslems, in which the focus is on the Fatimids

71. Liudpr., *Leg.*, cc.11,53, pp.182,204.

72. Liudpr., *Leg.* c.11, p.182; Gay, p.305.

73. Gay, pp.203-6, 209-11, 214-15, 223, 229-33; Runciman, *Lecapenus*, pp.187-93, 196; von Falkenhausen, pp.32-3, 35, 37.

74. Scyl., pp.263-4.

and Moslem Sicily.

On utilitarian terms, the strategic value of any Western potentate as ally, or nuisance to Byzantium's enemies, was modest and, as I said at the outset, Byzantine diplomacy was governed largely by considerations of utility to the state: "firstly, in what each nation has power to benefit the Romans and in what to hurt" in the words of Constantine VII's advice to his son.⁷⁵ It is therefore rather surprising to find at least eight marriage alliances or serious negotiations about marriage alliances between Byzantine and Western Christian ruling houses in the later ninth and tenth centuries.⁷⁶ So common were they that Constantine VII made special provision for justifying them to other foreigners who requested marriages. They were to be told that Constantine the Great himself had banned imperial marriages with every nation except "the Franks"; "they alone were excepted... because he himself drew his origin from those parts; for there is much relationship and intermingling between Franks and Romans", and also "because of the age-old fame and nobility of those regions and races".⁷⁷ This expression of affinity and proviso for future marriages with the Franks formed part of the "clever excuses" with which barbarian suitors were to be fobbed off.⁷⁸ But elsewhere in the *DAI* (a confidential document) there are highly complimentary references to "the illustrious King Hugh" of Arles and "Italy", and also to Charlemagne, "a man much celebrated in song and story and doer of brave deeds in war", "sole ruler over all the kingdoms", who "sent much money and abundant treasure to Palestine and built a very large number of monasteries".⁷⁹ Quite

75. *DAI*, *proemium*, 11.14-15.

76. W.H. von Collenberg, 'Wer war Theophano?' *Genealogisches Jahrbuch*, iv (1964), pp.59-60. To the matches listed there should be added the negotiations of Marozia and John XI, and subsequently of Alberic, for a marriage-tie with Byzantium: von Falkenhausen, p.45.

77. *DAI*, c.13, 11.114-22; cf. T.C. Lounghis, *Les ambassades byzantines en Occident depuis la fondation des états barbares jusqu' aux Croisades (407-1096)* (Athens, 1980), p.279. Constantine VII had an even more effusive precursor in Agathias, who praised the "civilized" Franks, who "are no different from ourselves save for the barbarousness of their attire and their distinctive language"; *Historiae*, ed. R.Keydell (Berlin, 1967), p.11.

78. *DAI*, c.13, 11.20-1.

79. *DAI*, c.26, 11.1-6, 8-10.

who "the Franks" are is left open. Clearly Charlemagne was one, reigning as "emperor (*ebasileuse*) in Great Francia", and Constantine purports to show that Hugh of Arles was descended from Charlemagne in the chapter entitled "The genealogy of the illustrious king Hugh".⁸⁰ In fact he inclines to dub "Franks" those Western Christians of whom he particularly approves. Thus the Venetians are said to be descendants of "all the Franks from Aquileia and from the other towns of Francia" who supposedly fled to the islands off the coast out of fear of Attila.⁸¹ However, Constantine's mention of "those regions and races" of the Franks, and his use of the term "Franciai" in the plural for the areas other than "Sclaviniai" ruled by Charlemagne's sons suggests that "Frank" could denote any non-Slav inhabitant of lands which were, or had been, under Frankish dominion.⁸² Positive esteem for the ruling class of Christian Europe is also shown by the lament for the dead child-bride of Romanus II, Bertha-Eudocia. It was composed in Romanus' name, probably in 949, the year of her death. Bertha is described as coming "from the peoples of Europe, even from these distinguished and famous for both splendour of birth and greatness of power, and possessing the thriving and most fertile of the Italian lands".⁸³

One may object that these public and private expressions of esteem for (and affinity with) the family of Bertha are merely an attempt to clothe an embarrassing skeleton in the Porphyrogenitan family cupboard: that Bertha was the illegitimate daughter of Hugh of Arles, and that the marriage may have been designed by Romanus Lecapenus to sully the line of Constantine Porphyrogeni-

80. *DAI*, c.26, 11.6, 15-16; *DAI: Comm.* (Jenkins), pp.83, 85.

81. *DAI*, c.28, 11.8-11; P.Lamma, 'Venezia nel giudizio dalle fonti bizantine dal X al XII secolo', *Rivista Storica Italiana*, lxxxiv (1962), pp.464-5, 467.

82. *DAI*, c.13, 11.121-2; c. 28, 11.7, 18-19. An attempt to distinguish two different uses of "Francia" in the *DAI* was made by W.Ohnsorge, *Abendland und Byzanz* (Darmstadt, 1958), pp.241-2 and n.69. Nicephorus Phocas "meant by this name [of Franks] both Latins and Teutons", Liudpr., *Leg.*, c.33, p.192.

83. S.Lampros, 'Anekdotos monodia Romanou II epi to thanato tes proteas autou syzygou Berthas', *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, ii (1878), p.269. The name of the actual composer remains unknown: Hunger, *Hochsprach. prof. Literatur*, I, p.134.

tus. A flaw in this argument is the near-certainty that Constantine himself was seeking a Western bride for his widower son soon after the death of Bertha: the hand of Hadwig, daughter of Duke Henry of Bavaria.⁸⁴ So at least two of the various tenth century marriage negotiations were started at Byzantine initiative, as had been the betrothal of Basil I's eldest son to the only daughter of Louis II. So there is more to the sense of affinity than mere funeral rhetoric. But what? Scarcely any sense of a close connection of the Franks with the city of Rome. Respect is voiced by Byzantines for "the great", "the very glorious" Rome, and the citizens of Constantinople were supposed to be descended from the senators and soldiery who had accompanied Constantine the Great to his new capital.⁸⁵ Byzantine ideology was incompatible with the existence of an alternative "Roman" empire besides that of "New Rome". Yet the writings of tenth century Byzantines show no explicit apprehension of any "Frankish" ruler trying to revive a "Roman" empire. The nearest approach to a definition of Rome's contemporary status comes in the *De Thematribus*: "Rome used to be ruled by an emperor....but now has put away imperial power and has its own form of government, and it is controlled principally by some pope of the day".⁸⁶ It is indeed questionable whether Rome was of paramount significance to Otto I,⁸⁷ but in any case his deposition and replacement of Pope John XII, a man "inclined to every kind of lewdness and vice", is reported with marked sympathy in the *Chronicle* of Scylitzes. Otto is called "*basileus* of the Franks".⁸⁸

84. Ohnsorge, *Abendland*, pp.235, 250.

85. *DAI*, c.21, 1.32; *megalodoxou*: Leo of Synada, in J.Darrouzès, *Épistoliers byzantins du X siècle* (Paris, 1960), ep. 11, 1.44, p.174; Liudpr., *Leg.*, c.51, p.202; F.Dölger, 'Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner', *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (repr. Darmstadt, 1976), pp.99-100 and n.48.

86. *De Them.*, p.94. The ambivalence of the papacy's status in *De Cer.* is noted by Lounghis, *Ambassades*, pp.277-8, 453.

87. J.N.Sutherland, 'The mission to Constantinople in 968 and Liudprand of Cremona', *Traditio*, xxxi (1975), pp.77-80; M.Rentschler, *Liudprand von Cremona* (Frankfurt am Main, 1981), p.24.

88. Scyl., p.245. Byzantine emperors' readiness to subordinate ideological considerations to expediency is noted by P.Grierson, 'The Carolingian empire in the eyes of Byzantium', *Settimane di studio*, xxvii,2 (1981), pp.905, 914; see also Lounghis, *Ambassades*, pp.270-1.

Perhaps a key to some emperors' attitudes towards the Franks may be found in the copious references to their ninth century history in the writings of Constantine Porphyrogenitus – the *DAI*, the *De Thematibus* and the *Vita* of his grandfather, Basil I. If very similar versions of a tale about the expulsion of the Moslems from Dalmatia and Bari are incorporated in these works,⁸⁹ the moral of the story is likely to have been regarded as particularly significant. Constantine purports to relate the successful “cooperation” of “the king of Francia and the pope of Rome”, who “acceded to the [Byzantine] emperor’s request(*aitesei*)...and came each with a large force and joined up with the force sent by the emperor”.⁹⁰ The *Vita* of Basil offers strategic considerations, which are presumably those of its author, Constantine. Basil is depicted as realizing that the Byzantine fleet’s forces could not well engage huge hosts of Moslems, especially since much fighting far inland would be necessary. He reckoned that to send a Byzantine army would be too expensive, and that anyway it was needed “for the regions here”. Hence “having deliberated wisely”, he appealed to the king of Francia, Louis (II) and the pope “to join as an ally with the forces from here”. They are treated as junior but independent partners of the Byzantine fleet in the enterprise, and the outcome is regarded as having been successful.⁹¹ Inaccurate as this account certainly is,⁹² it should not be dismissed as just another example of the fusty quality of Constantine’s information about the West. Rather, he harped on the story and, wittingly or not, remodelled it, as an example of what could be achieved against the Moslems with the help of a Frankish ruler. For as he wrote at the beginning of his *Vita* of Basil, Basil’s deeds were to serve “both as a standard and a statue of virtue, and

89. *De Them.*, pp.97-8; *DAI*, c.29, 11.88-119; *Theo. Con.*, V, 53-56, pp.289-94. On the notes or dossier on the episode kept by Constantine, see I. Ševčenko, ‘Storia letteraria’, *La civiltà bizantina dal IX all’ XI secolo*, ed. A. Guillou et al. (Bari, 1978), pp.100-1, 122.

90. *DAI*, c.29, 11.103-6; cf. *De Them.*, p.98; *Theo. Con.*, V, 55, p.293.

91. *Theo. Con.*, V, 55, p.293.

92. See Gay, pp.89-100; *DAI: Comm.* (Jenkins), pp.102-5; von Falkenhausen, p.20.

as a model for imitation" to his descendants.⁹³

I would emphasize that these were pipe dreams, which never came anywhere near realization, even in Constantine's own time. No "Frankish" potentate emerged "with a large force" to play the part of Louis II in 871. Constantine was preoccupied with Crete and with the Eastern Front, and when he did seek a military solution to the problem of Lombard "rebels" and Moslem sea power west of Byzantium, he relied on imperial forces and, upon their debacle, he returned to diplomacy and to such proposals as the "perpetual truce" with the Fatimids mentioned earlier.⁹⁴ In fact, even if there had been a Western potentate in the 950s capable of mustering the "large force" attributed to Louis II, it would not have been particularly relevant to Byzantine strategy, which regarded Southern Italy above all in terms of naval bases from which to war or parley with the Moslems and to preclude the so-called "great alliance". Therefore the foremost candidate for conquest was not, in my opinion, territory on the mainland but the island of Sicily, whose fleets raided not only the Adriatic but also the Aegean, and whose wood was of use to the Fatimid fleet.⁹⁵ The Porphyrogenitus was not, however, alone in his pipe dream of "much relationship" with the Franks. This is disclosed in passing by Liudprand of

93. Theo. Con., V, 1, p.212. Constantine expressly describes his subsequent tale of Soldan's deception of Louis as a "digression" intended "to refresh" (VI, 56, p.294), presumably in contrast to the edifying account of the recovery of Bari. The tale's ending redounds to the credit of Basil, who sent prompt help to the Lombards after Louis II had refused it, and Constantine presupposes Byzantium's right to authority in Southern Italy (VI, 56-8, pp.294-7; cf. *DAI*, c.29, 11.119-216). But Louis is in no way portrayed unsympathetically. Constantine was under no illusions as to Pepin's attempt to subjugate Venice or as to the Franks' past maltreatment of, and present-day raids on, the Croats (*DAI*, c.28, 11.20-35; c.30, 11.79-87; c.31, 11.86-7). However, the *DAI*, like the *Vita* of Basil, is notably free from derogatory remarks about the Franks.

94. Theo. Con., VI, 30, pp.453-4; Scyl., p.266; Gay, pp.213-8. Above, p.77.

95. Apart from its attempts at subversion (above, n.19), Byzantium launched or planned no less than four major Sicilian expeditions in the mid-tenth century; moreover, Taormina held out until 962: Scyl., pp.262, 266-7; Gay, pp.213-8, 290-1. The effect of at least one of these expeditions seems to have been to disrupt the supply of timber to the Fatimids: U.Rizzitano, 'Nuove fonti arabe...', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, xxxii (1957), p.550; von Falkenhausen, p.28 and n.6, pp.137-8; cf. Lombard, *Espaces*, pp.126-7.

Cremona, when he recounts "the Greeks'" interpretation of a prophecy made by Hippolytus of Rome: that "the lion and the young cub will together destroy the jack-ass". The popular interpretation of this saying was that Nicephorus Phocas, as the "lion", and Otto I, as the "cub", would together smash the power of the "jack-ass", the Fatimid ruler of North Africa. Otto and Nicephorus are, to Liudprand's disgust, seen as "having a single nature, although of different size".⁹⁶ The Western ruler is thus viewed as a brave, though very junior, partner of the Byzantine emperor in warfare against the Saracens. That this is not an isolated example of popular attitudes is suggested by the findings of A. Pertusi concerning Byzantine sayings and writings about the end of the empire. Prophecies in the ninth and tenth centuries foretold that the "blonde races" (meaning, apparently, the Franks and Lombards) would be ready to ally with Byzantium to defeat the Moslems in the Western and Eastern Mediterranean.⁹⁷

These notions were far-removed from strategic realities, just as Constantine's insistence on the "age-old fame" of the Franks and their frequent "intermingling" with the Byzantines bears little relation to actual communications in the tenth century. But these attitudes perhaps account for the disproportionate diplomatic attention and indulgence which Byzantine emperors gave to any Western potentate of some substance – "to our dearly beloved spiritual brother, the illustrious king" of Bavaria, Saxony, Gaul or "Germania", or, in still warmer tones, to "our cherished and dearly beloved spiritual brother, the most noble, illustrious king of Francia".⁹⁸ These expressions of rather close affinity cannot be dismissed as routine instances of the nurturing of ties with as wide a range of

96. Liudpr., *Leg.*, c.40, p.196; cf. c.43, p.198.

97. A. Pertusi, 'Venezia e Bisanzio: 1000-1204', *DDP*, xxxiii (1979), p.18 and n.59.

98. *De Cer.*, II, 48, pp.689, 691. On the whole, Gay's remarks (pp.225-6) about these protocols are more convincing than Ohnsorge's attempts (*Abendland*, pp.246-8) to pin each to an individual ruler of the first half of the tenth century. The "Francia" formula was, in my view, reserved for whichever Western potentate was then most in favour with Byzantium. See also K. Leyser, 'The tenth century in Byzantine-Western relationships', *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Baker (Edinburgh, 1973), pp.34-5; Lounghis, *Ambassadors*, pp.279-80.

rulers as possible. Yet they did not rest on cool calculations of utility. Neither, as Liudprand perceived, was there any real cultural affinity. The Byzantines' notion of a special relationship with the Western Christians partly reflects their ignorance of the actual cultural and political conditions of the West. For far from there being "much relationship and intermingling" between Franks and Byzantines, sea communications between them were probably at their nadir in the second half of the ninth and in the first three quarters of the tenth centuries.⁹⁹ Those few Westerners sighted in Constantinople tended to be Greek-speaking envoys such as Liudprand or his father, or Italian merchants conversant with Byzantine ways, notably those outwardly subservient "Franks", the Venetians. At the same time, the Venetians' efficiency as letter-bearers made "intermingling" with Western courts by means of letters relatively cheap and easy.¹⁰⁰ There was thus little evidence to dash the wishful thinking of Constantinople's emperor and citizens that, beyond the Arab-infested seas of the Mediterranean, there lived a valiant Christian ally – almost a Prester John! Byzantines were aware, of course, that Latin Christians were distinct as well as distant. The author of the lament for Bertha-Eudocia has Romanus state that he had married her "in order that my fame should be marvelled at in the furthestmost land".¹⁰¹ And St. Nilus believed, falsely, as it turned out, that a holy man could be famous in Calabria

99. One sign of this is the dearth of sea-borne pilgrimages mentioned in Western sources between c.900 and c.960 in comparison with preceding and subsequent periods: F.Micheau, 'Les itinéraires maritimes et continentaux des pèlerinages vers Jérusalem', *Occident et Orient au X siècle, Actes du IX Congrès de la société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public* (1978) (Paris, 1979), p.90. Conversely, there is an upsurge of mentions of visits by "Armenians" and "Greek" holy men to the West from the late tenth century onwards: G.Dédéyan, 'Les Arméniens en Occident, fin X – début XI siècle', *ibid.*, pp.124, 127; B.Hamilton, 'Greek influences on western monasticism', repr. in *Monastic reform, Catharism and the Crusades* (London, 1979), V, pp.188-9, 197-200; cf. E.Ashtor, 'Quelques observations d'un orientaliste sur la thèse de Pirenne', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, xiii (1970), pp.172-4; Leyser, 'Relationships', pp.46-7

100. Liudpr., *Ant.*, III, 22, p.82; Leyser, 'Relationships', pp.30-1; Pertusi, 'Venezia', p.16.

101. Lampros, 'Monodia', p.269.

and "the eastern parts", including the imperial court itself, yet unknown among the "Latins".¹⁰² And some ambivalence is evinced by Scylitzes' statement that the descendants of the Byzantine transplantees to Gallipoli "live by Roman customs, clothing and every other form of public life".¹⁰³ By implication, the natives of the area were not so "Roman". On the other hand, Leo VI commented on those persons, presumably Italian-born, "often coming here from Italy on some administrative business as having been, I think, through mingling with those (Lombards) themselves barbarized and become similar in behaviour to them", notably in their venality. His presupposition seems to be that Italians, at any rate those within the Byzantine sphere of influence, need *not* be barbarians, unless they have been contaminated by Lombards.¹⁰⁴ And that Western Christians in general were not barbarians, whereas the Moslems were, seems to have been the assumption in imperial court circles of the mid-10th century. For by "the barbarians... inhabiting the Gauls" Theophanes Continuatus designates the Saracens of Fraxinetum and not the Franks.¹⁰⁵

Let us now jump to the middle years of the eleventh century, disregarding the important administrative and ecclesiastical changes which made Southern Italy a more solid Byzantine possession from the late tenth century onwards.¹⁰⁶ The ebbing of the Moslem threat from the sea removed from diplomatic exchanges with the Western powers much of their urgency and purpose, and relatively few of them are known to us for the first half of the eleventh century. The main commercial beneficiaries of the improvement in sea communications were the Amalfitans and the Venetians, who were already familiar faces in the markets of Constantinople.¹⁰⁷ But the

102. *Vita Nili Junioris*, col.124B.

103. Scyl., p.151.

104. Leo VI, *Tactica*, xviii, 89, col.968A, *pace* Gay's translation, p.179.

105. Theo. Con., VI, 31, p.455; Vasiliev, *Byz. et Arabes*, II, 1, p.377.

106. A. Guillou, 'La Lucanie byzantine' repr. in *Studies on Byzantine Italy* (London, 1970), X, pp.133, 144-5; von Falkenhausen, pp.49-50.

107. A. Pertusi, 'Venezia e Bisanzio nel secolo XI', *La Venezia del Mille, Centro di Cultura e Civiltà della Fondazione Giorgio Cini* (Florence, 1965), pp.130-1; M. Balard, 'Amalfi et Byzance (X-XII siècles)', *Travaux et Mémoires*, vi (1976), pp.89-91.

easing of communications by land and sea also brought to Byzantium unprecedented numbers of pilgrims – unaccredited by any royal court, from regions beyond Italy, and without any special interest in Byzantium itself.¹⁰⁸ Byzantines now had their first glimpse of a broader cross-section of Latin society, most spectacularly on the great German pilgrimage of 1064-65, comprising “such a multitude of counts and princes, rich men and poor men, which seems to exceed the number of 12,000”.¹⁰⁹

The scurrilousness of some of the charges levelled against the “Latins” in tracts of the 1050s – the eating of unclean food, the obsessive accusations about the eating of strangled meat and many other supposedly “Judaistic” practices – suggests a virulent, if crude and ill-articulated, sense of alienation from the West. The charges were the work of a handful of churchmen and were, in part, directed against those advocating cooperation with the papacy, such as the emperor himself. But the churchmen’s stance and their drastic measures against the Latin churches in Constantinople itself seem to have enjoyed the violent support of the City’s populace.¹¹⁰ Already in 1052 or early 1053, Leo of Ochrid was firmly stating that those (like the Latins) who both keep the Sabbath and use unleavened bread for Communion “are neither Jews nor pure Christians, but are, in the words of the Great Basil, like the leopards’s skin, whose hair is neither black nor wholly white”. Such observances should be tossed back to the Jews, while the eating of strangled meat was only for “the infidel and barbarian peoples”. Clearly the Latins are not yet numbered among such peoples, and may yet form part of the “one flock...of Christ”, but persistence in their errors disqualifies them from the ranks of the “pure Christians”.¹¹¹ Many of Michael Cerularius’ charges against the Latins are

108. Leyser, ‘Relationships’, pp.46-7; J.Ebersolt, *Orient et Occident* (repr. Paris, 1954), pp.53-5.

109. *Annales Altahenses Maiores*, ed. E.L.B. von Oefele, *MGH in usum scholarum* (Hanover, 1891), p.66.

110. *PL*, cxliii, col. 1002B; A.Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios*, II (Paderborn, 1930), pp.110-13, 136-7, 139-44; S.Runciman, *The eastern schism* (Oxford, 1955), p.49.

111. *PG*, cxx, cols., 841A, 844A.

wild and unfounded, but some refer to real differences in cultural values. For example, he denounces Latin bishops for wearing rings on their fingers as if married to their churches, "and going out into battles, they defile their own hands with blood... destroying souls and being themselves destroyed in soul".¹¹² These words foreshadow the far more famous comments on man-slaying Latin priests made by Anna Comnena.

In works written during the second half of the eleventh century Franks are often called "barbarians" and, in words of Attaleiates composed fifteen or so years before the First Crusade, "a race treacherous by nature".¹¹³ This does, I think, represent a change of parlance from the tenth century, and reflects a changed state of affairs. The incursions of Otto I and Otto II into Apulia and Calabria had been short-lived and posed no threat to the security of Constantinople's citizens or rulers. The depredations of the Normans in Southern Italy were at first deemed acts of mutineers and rebels rather than of wholly external barbarians. But when the Norman uprising persisted and threatened even the Apulian ports, popular opinion became fearful. When Halley's Comet shone over Byzantium in the summer of 1066 and interpretations of it were essayed, "it was rumoured that Robert the Frank [i.e. Guiscard] was making ready to attack us".¹¹⁴ Cecaumenus himself, writing a decade or so later, describes Guiscard as "having become a *tyrannos*", in other words, as aspiring to the throne of Constantinople. This aspiration was not, of course, confined to barbarians, but Cecaumenus seems here to be classing Guiscard with Symeon of Bulgaria, that archetypal ambitious barbarian leader. Symeon, too, is dubbed *tyrannos* by Cecaumenus.¹¹⁵ The change, in fact confusion, in Byzantine attitudes towards the West is illustrated by Attaleiates. Summarizing the revolt of Norman and other Western troops serving with the Byzantine army in Italy in 1040, he says, "Even our former allies and partakers of an equal commonwealth

112. PG, cxx, col. 793A.

113. Attal., p.125.

114. Cecaumenus, ed. G.G.Litavrin, *Sovety i rasskazy Kekavmena* (Moscow, 1972), p.254.

115. Cecaumenus, ed. Litavrin, pp.186, 182.

(*isopoliteia*) with us, as being of the very same religious worship, Albans and those Latins beyond western Rome who live near the Italian regions, became *most unexpected* enemies" (my italics).¹¹⁶ Little of this sense of "commonwealth" lasted in the 1070s, when, Attaleiates laments, "The pangs of death tightened about us (Ps. XVIII, 5), and over all the East and West the Gothic and most disgusting peoples became masters".¹¹⁷ In this and subsequent decades God sent the impious Turks to ravage the East, "and the peoples of the Pechenegs, Cumans and Franks devastating the West" in order to castigate "Romania and the polity of the Christians".¹¹⁸ Thus already, before the First Crusade, Byzantine writers were beginning to lump Eastern and Western barbarians together. In 1091 Patriarch John of Antioch spoke of "that Frankish dog [Roussel] who raged against the Romans"; and of "that wicked Frank [Guiscard] who planned and perpetrated many wrongs against the Christians (i.e. the Byzantines)".¹¹⁹ Such deeds were to be expected of "warlike men, delighting in blood", as Attaleiates termed the Frankish mercenaries of Romanus IV Diogenes.¹²⁰

These descriptions foreshadow those in works penned well after the First Crusade by Nicephorus Bryennius and Anna Comnena. There, the greed, courage, martial skills and fickleness of the Westerners appear as literary clichés. Perhaps less well-known is the fact that Anna describes them in almost the same terms as she does the steppe nomads. "Fickleness", "uncontrollable passions, volatile and easily manipulated (*euagogon*) opinions" are inseparable attributes of "the Celtic nature", as well as "gawping after money all the time and easily overturning their agreements at the first opportunity".¹²¹

116. Attal., p.9.

117. Attal., p.198.

118. P.Gautier, 'Réquisitoire du patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat', *REB*, xxxiii (1975), p.129. This treatise was written between 1085 and 1092 (p.86).

119. John Ox., pp.23, 29.

120. Attal., p.107.

121. *AL*, X,5; X,11; XI,2, vol.II, pp.206-7, 233; vol.III, p.11. The greed as well as the courage of the Franks and Lombards was noted by Leo VI, drawing on earlier sources (*Tactica*, xviii, 80-9, col. 965A-D). But his tone is sympathetic:

Similarly, the Cumans, “easily manipulated (*euagogon*)”, “fickle and easily changeable, as is the natural characteristic of barbarians”, “longed to amass much booty from our land”.¹²² In fact, as Anna remarks of the Pechenegs’ breach of a treaty, “In every respect all barbarians are inconstant and do not by nature keep treaties”.¹²³ The steppe nomads also resembled the Western barbarians in being extraordinarily numerous, vastly outnumbering the Byzantine army.¹²⁴ Anna’s attribution of very similar characteristics to Crusaders and nomads is not, in my opinion, a mere literary device. Were space to permit, it would be easy to show from Western sources as well as from the *Alexiad* that Alexius’ methods of minimizing the risks involved in employing huge numbers of Cumans in 1091 were very similar to those he used with Crusaders in 1098: wining and dining of the leaders; flattering words; lavish and repeated gift-giving; the exaction of such oaths as seemed to affect their behaviour, and other precautions against treachery; speed in completing the task in hand and hastening them away from imperial territory.¹²⁵ To whom does this description refer? “[Alexius] greeted them affectionately and treated them to every kind of gift; then he requested an oath and hostages from them, mistrusting their easily-deceived turn of mind”.¹²⁶ Only the mention of “hostages” may give away the fact that these gullible creatures are Cumans, not Crusaders.

We should not be surprised that later eleventh century Byzan-

disobedient the Franks might be towards their rulers, but all for love of “freedom”. Anna is not drawing on literary *topoi* for her characterizations: she stresses that her father had discovered the Celts’ traits from long personal experience (vol.III, p.11), as he had also the Cumans’ (vol.II, p.136).

122. *Al.*, VIII,4; X,3; X,2; vol.II, pp.136, 196, 191.

123. *Al.*, VII,6, vol.II, p.106.

124. *Al.*, VIII,4; X,11; XI,2; vol.II, pp.136, 235; vol.III, p.11.

125. *Al.*, VIII,4,6; X,7,9,11; vol.II, pp.136-7, 145-6, 214-15, 226, 231-4. Alexius postponed battle by a few days in 1091, awaiting the arrival of Melissenus’ conscripts and, most probably, Western mercenaries (vol.II, pp.138,139). He may well have been reluctant wholly to depend on the Cuman forces (below, n.145). Alexius’ reception of the Crusade leaders is surveyed by F.-L.Ganshof, ‘Recherches sur le lien juridique....’, *Mélanges offerts à P.-E.Martin* (Geneva, 1961), p.51-7, 62.

126. *Al.*, VIII,4, vol.II, pp.136-7.

tine emperors, while wary and condescending towards Westerners, sought to employ them as mercenaries. For, as I stated earlier, utility to the state was their principal criterion in assessing foreigners, and those with the greatest capacity to harm could best be employed to benefit the state, if handled adroitly. Patriarch John of Antioch reproachfully observed that Alexius, like his predecessors, “arm[s] Scyths against Scyths, and others who are our worst enemies against those most closely related to them”.¹²⁷ By the beginning of the twelfth century, some Crusaders believed that this was Alexius’ policy towards themselves. Ekkehard of Aura heard in the East the rumour that Alexius said that he “causes the Franks to fight the Turks in the same way as dog eats dog”.¹²⁸ Such a sentiment can scarcely have been foreign to Alexius. When in 1073 he had captured and pretended to blind “the Frankish dog” Roussel, he was reproached by another general “for blinding so brave (*gennaion*) a man, very well-able to benefit the Romans’ interests”.¹²⁹ A similar calculation - that the most formidable foes might be put to the most effective use - is ascribed by Attaleiates to Romanus IV when he pardoned the rebellious Frankish mercenary Crispin, “on account of the man’s courage (*to gennaion*) and glorious deeds and deployments in battle. For being the first to engage a great host of Turks he had performed great feats of bravery with his own hands”.¹³⁰ A similar calculation informed the

127. John Ox., p.41.

128. Frut.-Ek., p.166.

129. Nicephorus Bryennius, *Historiae*, ed. P.Gautier (Brussels, 1975), p.195.

130. Attal., pp.124-5, 171. Attal. himself admired the Franks’ martial qualities and held them up as an example for Byzantines to emulate, praising Crispin’s clemency towards Byzantine soldiers who had made a surprise attack on him on Easter Day (pp.123-4). The Franks are also praised (p.127) for beating off a Turk attack on the Byzantine camp, while Byzantine soldiers stood idly by, and Michael VII is condemned for letting the Turks hold the eastern provinces in his zeal to have Roussel apprehended (p.199). While Attal. advocates (p.199) the employment of Latins such as Roussel against the Turks, links bravery with nobility, and may even be said to prefer commanders of Latin or Caucasian origin to native Byzantine generals (A.Kazhdan and S.Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine literature of the eleventh and twelfth centuries* [Cambridge, 1984] pp.28,66-7), his purpose is to arouse the “Romans” flagging valour, and to shame “the leaders and generals and the subjects themselves” (p.197) into ending the “madness” of their bitter internal feuding (p.198). His hero,

foreign policy of Michael VII Ducas: "not only did he not lay claim to the land belonging to himself [in Southern Italy] ... but he considered it necessary to make peace with him [Guiscard] in order to drive the Turks from the East, and by means of or with them [the Normans] to scare off their absurd incursion against Romania".¹³¹ He therefore, according to Scylitzes, sought a marriage-alliance with the Norman leader, Robert Guiscard.

Two letters sent to Guiscard during the marriage negotiations survive, as do the texts of some other diplomatic missives of the late eleventh century. They show that Byzantine rulers were then lavishly invoking affinities, especially religious ones, between themselves and the Westerners - affinities in which they can seldom have believed. I would admit a certain authenticity in a letter sent to Emperor Henry IV of Germany in c.1082, praising him for the piety manifest in his agreeing "to take upon yourself the labours [of war]... so as to punish the murderer, criminal and enemy of God and the Christians in a manner befitting his folly". Alexius applauded the prospect of a marriage-tie: "hence you and I, deriving strength from one another, may be formidable to our foes and, with God's help, invincible".¹³² The murderous enemy of the Christians against whom Alexius and Henry were allying was Robert Guiscard. Ten years earlier, Guiscard had been told by Michael VII that it would be "extraordinary" (*atopon*) if he (Guiscard), "the sharer of the same religious worship and revered for his nobility of soul and distinguished by august race, were not to share with me in love and concord". Michael dilates on other qualities of Guiscard, such as his "most peaceful" conduct of his affairs, but he lays heaviest emphasis on their "single origin of race" and on the religious ties between

Nicephorus Botaneiates, regards the "wasting of the western land" by "the barbarous nations" (*tois ethnesi*) in the same light as the ruin of "all the east" by "the enemy" (p.213).

131. E.Tsolakis (ed.), *He synecheia tes chronographias tou Ioannou Skylitse* (Thessalonica, 1968), p.170.

132. *Al.*, III,10, vol.I, pp.133, 135; Dölger, no.1077. On Alexius' recourse to an almost traditional ally, against whom Byzantium had seldom fought, see T.C.Lounghis, 'The failure of the German-Byzantine alliance on the eve of the First Crusade', *Actes du XV congrès international d'études byzantines*, IV (Athens, 1980), pp.201-2, 206.

them: "the *identity (tautotes)* of confession concerning God and of Faith"; "a single form of piety".¹³³ "Priestly books and true histories teach me that our states have a single root and origin, that the same redeeming word was spread among both, and the same eye-witnesses of the Divine Mystery and heralds of the word of the Gospel resounded among them".¹³⁴ Michael desires the marriage-tie to be "a most unbreakable reinforcement of friendship". "This intention comes to us from above, from God".¹³⁵ Such was the pious façade for the policy of cutting one's losses in Italy and directing the Normans against the Turks which Scylitzes ascribes to Michael VII. There is no word of gifts or material rewards in this high-flown letter, but titles, gold and precious cloths aplenty figure in the marriage agreement which eventually followed.¹³⁶

The declarations of affinity in Michael's letters to Guiscard are disingenuous. "Franks" the Normans might be in Byzantine eyes, and the rhetoric of kith and kin might still be invoked, but consciously spuriously. The wishful thinking of the tenth century – the "lion" and the "cub" – was giving way to apocalyptic writings that the "blonde races", "ferocious and wicked peoples", would destroy the empire.¹³⁷ And the late eleventh century saw a major change in the fortifications and in the naval defences of the Dyrrachium theme, so as to provide against invasions from the West.¹³⁸ Michael's protestations about a "single" religion should not be taken to show that a profound gulf between the Churches did not exist. Rather, the Byzantines were, in a desperate crisis, "pulling out every stop" in order to deflect one attacker against

133. Michael Psellus, *Historikoi logoi, epistolai...*, ed. K.N.Sathas, *Mesaionike Bibliothekhe*, V (Venice, 1876), pp.385, 386, 391; Dölger, nos.989, 990.

134. Sathas, *Mes. Bibl.*, V, p.389.

135. Sathas, *Mes. Bibl.*, V, pp.386, 390-1.

136. Michael Psellus, *Scripta minora*, ed. E.Kurtz and F.Drexler, I (Milan, 1936), pp.331-2; H.Bibicou, 'Une page d'histoire diplomatique de Byzance au XI siècle...', *B*, xxix-xxx (1959-60), pp.46-7, 66-74; V. von Falkenhausen, 'Olympias, eine normannische Prinzessin in Konstantinopel', *Bisanzio e L'Italia. Raccolta di studi in memoria di A.Pertusi* (Milan, 1982), pp.58-9, 66-8.

137. A.Pertusi, 'Venezia', p.18 and n.59.

138. Ducellier, *Façade maritime*, pp.17, 29, 95-6, 102.

another. Porphyrogeniti and presents were dangled before Guiscard, while religion was invoked to dignify these gestures and to make it somewhat harder for Guiscard to rebuff them. For Byzantine diplomats traditionally played upon whatever religious susceptibilities a barbarian people might be hoped to harbour. For example, in the sixth century a Byzantine envoy to the Avars berated them: "You are insulting your own gods: oaths are violated, treaties dissolved and your benefactors suffer ill from you!" He warned vaguely but menacingly of the "punishment" which would befall them if they continued to invade Byzantine territory: "Have respect before your supreme being (*tes ses koruphes*) for this Roman soil of ours".¹³⁹ Guiscard happened to profess Christianity, so to harp on the theme of a common religion might embarrass him, and even shame or awe him into the provision of military aid.

It seems to me that similar calculations underlay the messages sent to important churchmen and laymen in many quarters of Christian Europe in the final third of the eleventh century. Frankish knights on horseback were outstandingly effective in breaking up swarms of Turks or steppe nomads, but were savage, greedy and treacherous. All the more reason, then, to appeal to such spiritual sides as their natures might possess. It might curb their treachery, and also their greed. The latter objective was particularly desirable, in view of the emptiness of the Byzantine treasury.

I should like to end by noting some pieces of eleventh century evidence which leave little room for doubt that Alexius I Comnenus sent many messages to Western potentates, including the papacy, appealing first and foremost as a fellow-Christian in need of aid; and that these messages were among the reasons invoked by Urban II for proclaiming a great expedition to the East. Already in the early 1060s military aid seems to have been sought from Duke William of Normandy, so that "with him as its defender (Constantinople) might spurn the oppressive power of Babylon".¹⁴⁰ Relics

139. Theophylact of Simocatta, *Historiae*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1887), I, 5, pp. 49-50; D.A. Miller, 'Byzantine treaties and treaty-making: 500-1025 A.D.', *Byzantinoslavica*, xxxii (1971), p. 75.

140. William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guillelmi Ducis*, ed. R. Foreville (Paris, 1952), pp. 144-5; J. Shepard, 'The English and Byzantium', *Traditio*, xxix (1973), p. 79.

were despatched to Henry IV on, seemingly, at least two separate occasions, c.1062 and c.1082.¹⁴¹ They were also donated to eminent pilgrims passing through Constantinople. In 1086 Bishop Pibo of Toul obtained “no small a portion of the Lord’s Cross from the most glorious emperor of the Greeks, who loved him very dearly”. In Pibo’s party were Count Conrad of Luxemburg “and many leaders of the realm”.¹⁴² Presumably Alexius gave them, too, the impression that he cherished them, and perhaps from the same ulterior motive for which he “lavished gifts upon and sent off home delighted” Count Robert of Flanders in 1089, the need for cavalrymen.¹⁴³ A couple of relatively neglected passages in the *Alexiad* suggest Alexius’ vigour and eclecticism in appealing for troops. Faced with the Turkish pirate Çaka’s naval build-up in the Aegean, and with Pechenegs marauding at the gates of Constantinople, Alexius “did all that he could to summon mercenaries as fast as possible *from all sides (hapantachotheren)* (my italics)”.¹⁴⁴ One of

141. Benzo of Albi, *Ad Heinricum IV imperatorem libri VII*, MGH, SS, xi, pp.606, 622, 664; Dölger, no.952; M.Rentschler, ‘Griechische Kultur und Byzanz im Urteil westlicher Autoren des 11. Jahrhunderts’, *Saeculum*, xxxi (1980), pp.151-2; *Al.*, III,10, vol.I, p.135; Dölger, no.1077. A fragment of the True Cross was among the relics sent to Henry seemingly c.1062. Such fragments seem to have been despatched by Byzantine emperors and patriarchs to Western leaders more often in the eleventh century than in the previous one and a half centuries: A.Frolow, *La relique de la vraie croix* (Paris, 1961), nos.107, 110 (for c.850-c.1000); nos.155,187,200,203,204,223,235,245 (for c.1000-First Crusade).

142. *Gesta Episcoporum Tullensium*, MGH, SS, viii, p.647. On Conrad, who died on his way home, see H.Renn, *Das erste Luxemburger Grafenhaus*, *Rheinisches Archiv*, xxxix (1941), p.153.

143. *Al.*, VII,6, vol.II, p.105; C.Verlinden, *Robert I le Frison, comte de Flandre* (Antwerp, 1935), pp.151,159; F.-L.Ganshof, ‘Robert le Frison et Alexis Comnène’, *B.*, xxxi (1961), p.61. ‘The hoped for mercenaries’ had not yet arrived by, seemingly, the end of the campaigning season of 1089 (*Al.*, VII,6 vol. II, p.107); they seem to have arrived in the spring of 1090 (*Al.*, VII,7, vol.II, p.109).

144. *Al.*, VIII,3, vol.II, p.134. This statement lies between references to Sexagesima and the spring equinox (pp.130,134), suggesting that Alexius sent for help in late February/early March. However, the passage immediately preceding our statement (pp.133-4) reviews Çaka’s construction of a new fleet and maritime exploits and clearly looks back over several months. This consideration, together with Anna’s reference to “the very harsh winter pressing down upon” Constantinople with unprecedented snowfalls (p.134) suggests that the sum-

those "sides" was the Roman papacy. For Anna relates how, a few months later, in late April 1091, Alexius prevaricated in response to deceitful peace overtures from the Pechenegs, "wishing to keep their calculations in suspense, in case the mercenaries who were expected from Rome (*to ek tes Rhomes prosdokomenon mis-thophorikon*) should arrive".¹⁴⁵ This seems to constitute evidence of Alexius's seeking, if not actually obtaining, troops from the papacy already before 1095. Urban was, admittedly, not then in residence in Rome, but Bernold of St Blaise states at the beginning of his entry for 1091: "the lord pope was in Campania, and was courted with due reverence by all Catholics, that is to say, by the emperor of Constantinople" and other Christian rulers. The coincidence of time and person surely indicates that the "courting" included an appeal for "mercenaries".¹⁴⁶ Bernold's subsequent mention of the

mons went forth in midwinter, between December 1090 and February 1091.

145. *Al.*, VIII, 5, vol. II, p. 139. This rendering seems preferable to Y. N. Lyubarsky's (*Aleksjada* [Moscow, 1965], p. 235), whereby Alexius responded to the overtures evasively, "wishing to inspire in them the idea that a mercenary army was to arrive from Rome". This rendering, which strains the Greek, leaves it unclear why the prospect of Western mercenaries arriving should have kept the Pechenegs "in suspense". More probably, Alexius, fearful of a sudden forging of a Cumano-Pecheneg alliance, was reluctant to brush aside the Pecheneg overtures outright. He prevaricated, hoping for the arrival of Western mercenaries to relieve him from utter dependence on the Cumans.
146. Bernold, *Chronicon*, MGH, SS, v, p. 450. The sequence of events was close-packed - summonses for aid in midwinter, messengers reaching Urban in the opening months of 1091, and mercenaries "expected" in late April. But this accords with Anna's emphasis on the need of Alexius for immediate help. Dölger (no. 1156) dismisses Anna's reference to "soldtruppen aus Rom" as intrinsically absurd, and connects the embassy to Urban with the Church Union negotiations of 1088-89. He evinces no awareness of Alexius' summonses of "mercenaries...from all sides", though he dates to "beginning of 1091" Alexius' appeal through an edict "to all his subjects" concerning the Pecheneg war (Dölger, n. 1157). The context in which Matthew of Edessa mentions this indicates that Alexius was seeking military service: *Chronique*, tr. E. Dulaurier (Paris, 1858), p. 199. The question as to whether Urban was in any position to send troops to Alexius in 1091 is moot. Urban had had to flee from Rome in June 1090, and Count Roger of Sicily was his sole remaining ally: A. Fliche and V. Martin, *Histoire de l'église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, viii (Paris, 1944), p. 244. In my opinion, it would be surprising if mere hopes, rather than the actual eventual arrival of troops in 1091, had been recorded or remembered at Byzantium and become known to Anna. That Anna should have unwittingly confused Alexius' 1095 appeal to the papacy

Byzantine envoys at the Council of Piacenza, appealing for "some help against the pagans for the defence of Holy Church", is well-known. So is Ekkehard of Aura's allusion to "not a few letters" sent by Alexius to Urban II, appealing for troops "for the defence of the Eastern Churches".¹⁴⁷

But there is one other piece of evidence. In the chronicle of Frutolf it is stated that in 1096 a mass of persons took up arms "to go to Jerusalem,...stirred up to zeal by frequent messages concerning the oppression of the Lord's Sepulchre and the desolation of all the churches..."¹⁴⁸ Frutolf was writing his chronicle at about the time of these events, and this passage is not a later interpolation in the chronicle. His wording – "frequent messages (*nunciis*)" – suggests that they had arrived over a period of time, and from the East rather than simply from Urban, who is not mentioned here. Taken together, these scraps of evidence seem to me to demonstrate conclusively that it was Alexius, using the diplomatic devices of his predecessors, who unwittingly triggered off the First Crusade.

with his call for troops in 1090-1 seems to me improbable. Urban is in any case likely to have fanned Alexius' hopes of aid, and perhaps evoked thereby the "not a few letters" mentioned by Ekkehard of Aura.

147. Bernold, p.462; Frut.-Ek., p.136; P.Charanis, 'Byzantium, the West and the origin of the First Crusade', B xix (1949), pp.27-9, repr. in *Social, economic and political life in the Byzantine empire* (London, 1973), XIV.
148. Frut.-Ek., p.106. The text of Frutolf's entry for 1096 was copied out almost word for word by Ekkehard in his entry for the year 1096 (editor's note, p.124a). On Ekkehard's use, and partial erasure, of Frutolf's autograph manuscript, see *ibid.*, pp.1,16,33. Frutolf was writing in 1099 but had been gathering material for some time beforehand (*ibid.*, p.8). How far Ekkehard's famous reference to "not a few letters" from Alexius to Urban is based on independent evidence and how far it is merely a gloss on Frutolf cannot easily be determined. Ekkehard does claim, in the sentence preceding his mention of "not a few letters", that he has himself seen "letters...lugubriously calling on the universal Church to protect the church of Jerusalem" (p.136). Some of these letters could have been forgeries, but it is questionable whether they can all have been spurious. Byzantium is the likeliest source of Frutolf's "frequent messages" concerning the Holy Sepulchre and "the desolation of all the churches". Some of these messages could have been in the name of the patriarch of Jerusalem, but the latter seems to have been an adjunct of Byzantine diplomacy in the late eleventh century, and sometimes resided at Constantinople: Charanis, 'Byzantium, the West', p.35 and n.3; Runciman, *Eastern schism*, p.75.

This evidence is also pertinent to the contents of the famous "letter" of Alexius Comnenus which addresses, among others, the count of Flanders. Until recently, scholars have inclined to dismiss it as a forgery,¹⁴⁹ and it is indeed hard to believe that the surviving text, either in its full form or in Guibert of Nogent's paraphrase, could have been drafted by Alexius. The expression "warriors of Christ"¹⁵⁰ would have been unpalatable, though perhaps not wholly unfamiliar, to him, while the following statement is far more likely to emanate from a Latin than an imperial Byzantine tongue or pen: "I would rather be subject (*subiectus*) to your Latins than to the outrages of the pagans... For it is better that you should have (*habeatis*) Constantinople, rather than the pagans".¹⁵¹ However, as M. de Waha has convincingly argued, much of the content accords well with the appeals from Alexius reported by Bernold, Ekkehard and, I would argue, Frutolf: the laments for the "death and derision" suffered by "Christians" at the hands of "the pagans" who had overrun "nearly all the land from Jerusalem to Greece" and now menaced Constantinople, which was virtually the sole remaining possession of the emperor; the defilement and destruction of "the holy places" and desecration of churches; the appeal to Westerners as Christians.¹⁵² And, as de Waha notes, the stress laid by the "letter" on Constantinople's stock of protective relics corresponds with Alexius's known practice of giving relics to visitors and foreign potentates for diplomatic purposes.¹⁵³ De Waha suggests that the surviving text may represent a transcript of a message brought to Flanders by an envoy who read out (presumably

149. E.g. F.Chalandon, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis I Comnène* (Paris, 1900), pp.330-6; Dölger, no.1152; C.Erdmann, *The origin of the idea of Crusade*, tr. M.W.Baldwin and W.Goffart (Princeton, 1977), p.358 and n.7; Ganshof, 'Robert le Frison', pp.57-8, 71; G.Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine state* (Oxford, 1968), p.362, n.3.

150. Hagenmeyer, p.133.

151. Hagenmeyer, p.134.

152. Hagenmeyer, pp.131, 132-3; Waha, pp.119-20.

153. Waha, p.121. The "letter's" particular stress on relics connected with Christ and his Passion recalls the sort of relics, notably fragments of the True Cross, which emperors are known to have dispensed: Hagenmeyer, p.134; above, n.141; Frolow, *Relique*, pp.301-2.

in translation) and amplified upon the text of an imperial letter. The envoy might himself have been Western-born, for Byzantium is known sometimes to have sent expatriates on diplomatic missions, the more fluently to plead the emperor's cause.¹⁵⁴ Thus the contents of an original letter could have been embellished or altered at one, or each, of the stages in its transmission – by the envoy's own exposition and comments, and by the clerk, perhaps a notary, who wrote down in Latin what he heard, or believed he heard, of the envoy's words. The text may have subsequently been re-fashioned, particularly in the case of the paraphrase purveyed by the anti-Greek Guibert of Nogent, who was writing after the First Crusade. De Waha thus proposes that our surviving text derives from the transcript of an envoy's oral exposé of a letter, and not from the word for word translation of a Byzantine state document. A pedigree such as this would account for those elements in the text which have led some to reject it as an out-and-out forgery.¹⁵⁵

Three further points may be made concerning the contents of what I will continue to call the "letter": first, de Waha does not accentuate the fact that the "letter" refers to a *particular* situation, in which Constantinople itself was threatened by an impending assault by land and sea.¹⁵⁶ The Turks' conquest of Asia Minor is

154. Waha, pp.122-3, 125.

155. Waha, pp.123, 125. Alexius' reliance on envoys to amplify and supplement his written communications is clearly indicated in his first letter to Abbot Oderisius of Monte Cassino: Hagenmeyer, p.141 and n.17 on p.242.

156. Instead Waha questions (pp.123-4) the identification of the addressee with Robert I and tentatively suggests that his son and heir, Robert II, might have received the message "close to 1095". Only Guibert of Nogent and Gislebert of Mons expressly describe the addressee as Robert *senior*. However, the *argumentum* prefacing the "letter" clearly indicates the elder Robert, as being the man who had met and had "affable conversation" with Alexius during his pilgrimage (Hagenmeyer, p.130). The *incipit* of the surviving text addresses not only 'Count Robert of Flanders' but also all the princes of the entire realm (*regni*)... both laymen and clerics' (Hagenmeyer, p.130). The formal exposé of our hypothetical envoy need not have strayed so far from the standardized text of an imperial document as to thank Robert for the knights already sent to Byzantium, and the thanks might already have been conveyed by an earlier embassy. That Alexius despatched standardized circulars in 1090/1 is suggested by Anna, Ekkehard and Frutolf (above, nn.144,147,148). Earlier, faced with Guiscard's onslaught, he had "sent letters... even to all the leaders of the Celtic

outlined and they are said to have “invaded even the Propontis, which is also called Avidus”, i.e. Abydos at the Dardanelles.¹⁵⁷ Pechenegs are also involved in this operation, judging by the fact that “Pincinati” as well as Turks are described as harrying the emperor from town to town and as being liable to seize the treasures of Constantinople itself.¹⁵⁸ Moreover, the lost provinces of the empire are listed, including “the principal islands of Chios and Mytilene” and the Thracian region in Europe, while the construction of a 200-strong Turkish fleet is ascribed to subjugated Greeks who are now said to be rowing the boats “willy-nilly”, in preparation for the assault on Constantinople.¹⁵⁹ All these details correspond with the discernible situation in the winter of 1090/1, when Çaka “had designs on the western provinces and advised the Scyths (Pechenegs) to seize the Chersonese”, i.e. the Gallipoli peninsula, across the Dardanelles from Abydos.¹⁶⁰ Anna Comnena tells us that Çaka possessed a large war fleet, which he had initially caused to be built by “a certain man of Smyrna... who had great expertise in such matters”. Çaka manned these and 40 merchant vessels with “experienced men” – presumably Greeks, since Turks had not taken to the water hitherto – and attacked and eventually captured Chios and Mytilene (Lesbos) which are singled out by Anna as especially significant among the islands which he subdued.¹⁶¹ Clearly, Constantinople was the objective of Çaka’s alliance with the Pechenegs. The latter had overrun much of Thrace and were pillaging places on the outskirts of the capital, whose citizens dared not go out beyond the gates.¹⁶²

This winter of 1090/1 was precisely the time when, as we have *lands* (my italics), saluting them with moderate gifts”, and promising “many gifts and honours” in return for enmity against Guiscard (*Al.*, III,10, vol.I, pp.132-3).

157. Hagenmeyer, p.133.

158. Hagenmeyer, pp.133-4, 135. Alexius’ flitting from town to town before the Pechenegs could represent a garbled version of the tactics of momentary occupation of towns related in *Al.*, VII,6, vol.II, p.107.

159. Hagenmeyer, pp.132-3.

160. *Al.*, VIII,3, vol.II, p.134; P.Gautier, ‘Défection et soumission de la Crète sous Alexis I Comnène’, *REB*, xxxv (1977), p.217, n.5; p.222, n.26.

161. *Al.*, VII,8, vol.II, pp.110-11.

162. *Al.*, VIII,1,3, vol.II, pp.128, 133.

seen, Alexius summoned assistance "from all sides", including "Rome". If Rome, why not Flanders? And once the Byzantine origins of this section of the "letter" are admitted, the onus rests on those who would wholly dissociate the rest of it from any Byzantine *démarche*.¹⁶³

A second consideration concerning the "letter", pointing towards its ultimate authenticity, is the fact that a remarkably sympathetic and understanding tone is struck in two letters of Alexius to Abbot Oderisius of Monte Cassino. These were, admittedly, written after the Crusaders had reached Asia Minor, but they in any case show the extent to which Alexius, aware of Westerners' religious susceptibilities, was ready to resort to their jargon. He refers to the Crusaders as "pilgrims", employing the term by which Urban II had designated them. He refers to them as "prospering with God's grace up to the present day in the service in which they set out", presumably the service of God. Of those who have, through battle or natural causes, gone to "the eternal tabernacles", Alexius says: "Blessed (*beati*) indeed are they, as they have in their good intentions brought about their deaths".¹⁶⁴ These statements go beyond the call of diplomatic regrets and, particularly in the use of "blessed" for the dead, they seem to echo Western ideas of the spiritual benefits accruing to those who had taken the Crusading vow: "the robe of martyrdom" belonged to those who perished during the expedition, according to the anonymous *Gesta Francor-*

163. E.g. E. Joranson, 'The problem of the spurious letter of Emperor Alexius to the count of Flanders', *American Historical Review*, lv (1950), pp. 819, 823-32; Ganshof, 'Robert', pp. 57-8, 71.

164. Hagenmeyer, pp. 141, 153. Hagenmeyer's restriction of *peregrini* to the (unarmed) pilgrims of late 1096/early 1097 goes against the sense of the passage as a whole (n. 15 on p. 241). On Alexius' successive gifts to the monastery of Monte Cassino and enlisting of the sympathy of its influential abbot, see *Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*, MGH, SS, xxxiv, pp. 485-6, 493, 525; Hagenmeyer, n. 6 on pp. 239-40; Dölger, nos. 1207, 1208, 1229. On service of God, cf. Hagenmeyer, n. 16 on p. 296. The phrase "good intentions" (of the Crusaders) is studiously vague, but clearly relates specifically to their undertaking in the East, and not merely to enthusiasm for the Faith and righteousness in general, as Hagenmeyer avers (n. 20 on p. 297).

um.¹⁶⁵ In his letters to Oderisius Alexius also assumes a tone of self-abasement. He calls himself a "sinner" who, being unworthy of praise, is praised to his own condemnation. Daily he prays to God to take pity on him and to sustain his infirmity. A similar note of rather abject humility is struck in passages of the "letter" to Robert of Flanders.¹⁶⁶ Perhaps it would not be surprising if, already before 1095, a Western-born emissary of Alexius and even Alexius himself had shown some inkling of papal pronouncements and popular notions about warfare in a holy cause.¹⁶⁷ This brings us to a third consideration. Alexius does not, in the "letter" to Robert, show inordinate knowledge of those concepts which burgeoned in the years after the Council of Clermont in such profusion. Neither is any discernible allusion made to events known to have occurred after 1091, the date when the "letter" was sent, judging by the indication in the *argumentum* prefacing it.¹⁶⁸ A wholesale forgery spun out of nothing would surely have reflected what was most probably the central goal of the expedition promulgated by Urban II, Jerusalem.¹⁶⁹ As it is, Jerusalem is mentioned by name merely in order to demonstrate the extent of "all the land" overrun by the

165. *Gesta Francorum*, ed. and tr. R.Hill (London, 1962), pp.4,17,40. For the idea of the souls of the fallen assuredly entering Paradise, see the second letter of Stephen of Chartres, ed. Hagenmeyer, p.150. On martyrdom see Erdmann, *Idea*, pp.344-5; L. and J.Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: idea and reality, 1095-1204* (London, 1981), pp.46,54.

166. Hagenmeyer, pp.152-3; 133-4; n.8 on p.295; n.70 on p.200.

167. For these, see e.g. Erdmann, *Idea*, pp.122-3,138-40,214,284-5 and n.66; H.E.J.Cowdrey, 'The genesis of the Crusades', *The Holy War*, ed. T.P.Murphy (Ohio, 1976), pp.19-20, repr. in *Popes, monks and Crusaders* (London, 1984), XIII.

168. The *argumentum* states that it was sent "in the fourth year before the glorious Jerusalem journey" (Hagenmeyer, p.130). Presumably the author reckoned from the year in which the "letter" arrived, 1090/1, and regarded the Council of Clermont (November, 1095) as the beginning of the "journey"; cf. Joranson, 'Spurious letter', p.826. The "letter"'s apparently accurate reference to Latin Christian successes in Spain "in the past year", i.e. 1091 need not necessarily denote a Western source: Hagenmeyer, p.133; see Verlinden, *Robert I*, pp.19-20,162; J.F. O'Callaghan, *A history of medieval Spain* (Cornell, 1975), p.209.

169. H.E.J.Cowdrey, 'Pope Urban II's preaching of the First Crusade', *History*, IV (1970), pp.185-8, repr. in *Popes, monks and Crusaders*, XVI.

Turks, while "the Lord's Sepulchre" is mentioned in the final sentence as representing an even graver loss than the "realm of the Christians" (i.e. the Byzantine empire).¹⁷⁰ This scant reference to what became the Westerners' chief concern from, most probably, Clermont onwards, suggests to me that the gist, and most of the details, of the "letter" derive from the writings or mouthings of Byzantine diplomacy.

As for whether these two references to Jerusalem were interpolated by a Western redactor or actually emanated from Byzantium, the question remains open. Over thirty years ago, P.Charanis drew attention to the thirteenth century chronicler Theodore Scutariotes' claim that Alexius deliberately played upon Western Christians' veneration of the Holy Sepulchre and indignation that it should be in Turkish hands in order to recruit a huge army for service against the Turks.¹⁷¹ Scutariotes was himself pro-Unionist and, of course, was writing long after the First Crusade. But his assertion gains some support from the findings of P.E. Walker: that the text of John Tzimisces' famous letter to Ashot III of Armenia is probably authentic. In this letter Tzimisces deliberately exaggerates the extent to which his army approached Jerusalem in 975 and also the degree of his interest in liberating Jerusalem: "We also were intent on delivering the holy sepulchre of Christ our God from the

170. Hagenmeyer, pp.132,136. The latter passage probably means that, if Constantinople fell, all access to Jerusalem would be lost to Westerners. It may, however, mean that the Sepulchre would be physically destroyed, for the "letter" earlier states that "the holy places" have been defiled and destroyed, and are threatened with "worse things" (Hagenmeyer, p.132; n.106 on p.208; Joranson, 'Spurious letter', p.815, n.20). The term "realm of the Christians" (Hagenmeyer, p.136) may reflect the tendency of some Byzantine acclamations and imperial acts to treat "Christians" and "Romans" as synonymous, e.g. Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Le livre des cérémonies*, ed. and tr. A. Vogt, I (Paris, 1935), pp.50-1; II,1 (Paris, 1939), pp.3,14,90,174; *Russian Primary Chronicle*, tr. S.H.Cross and O.P.Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p.68 (911 Russo-Byzantine treaty); see O.Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee...* (Jena, 1938), pp.158-60.

171. Theodore Scutariotes, *Synopsis Chronike*, ed. K.N.Sathas, *Mesaionike Bibliothēke*, vii (Venice, 1894), pp.184-5; Charanis, 'Byzantium, the West', pp.31-4; Hunger, *Hochsprach. prof. Literatur*, I, pp.477-8.

bondage of the Moslems".¹⁷² In reality, Tzimisces had fought a limited campaign to halt the Fatimids' advance into Syria and to deny their fleet use of the Syrian ports. His army probably never set foot in Palestine. He seems to have portrayed the operations as a kind of "Holy War" in order to persuade Armenia's princes to send troops to serve with his army.¹⁷³ A shortage of military manpower was not unique to late eleventh century Byzantium. One other relevant item of evidence may be Frutolf's *Chronicle*, if we accept that Byzantium was responsible for at least some of the "frequent messages concerning the oppression of the Lord's Sepulchre..." which aroused men to take the Cross.¹⁷⁴ None of this evidence is decisive by itself, but, taken together, it should restrain us from dismissing out-of-hand the allusions to Jerusalem in our "letter" to Robert of Flanders.

But what of Anna Comnena? Why does she not breathe a word of any preliminary message from Alexius to the West, instead presenting the Crusade as if it were one of the many external perils, "sea upon sea and river upon river of ills, such as to allow... the emperor neither to draw breath nor to close his eyes"?¹⁷⁵ The basic answer seems to me to lie in the opening remarks of Anna's account of the Crusade. Alexius "feared (*edediei*) their arrival, knowing as he did their uncontrollable passions, volatile and easily manipulated opinions..." etc. Anna depicts the Crusade leaders as seeking to conquer the empire under the guise of a spurious pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and Alexius as "knowing of old their villainy" and as averting the Celtic peril through guile and stringent precautions.¹⁷⁶ This portrait of a prudent emperor would have been tarnished had it been divulged that he had, in a sense, brought the deluge upon himself by over-exciting their "uncontrollable passions" and precipitating a "massing together (*sygkinesis*) of men and women the

172. Matthew of Edessa, *Chronique*, tr. Dulaurier, p.20; P.E.Walker, "The 'Crusade' of John Tzimisces in the light of new Arabic evidence", *B*, xlvii (1977), p.319.

173. Walker, "Crusade", pp.301-6,318-27.

174. Frut.-Ek., p.106.

175. *Al.*, X,2, vol.II, p.189.

176. *Al.*, X,5,9, vol.II, pp.206,209,221.

like of which has not been seen before".¹⁷⁷ Suspicion and fear of these hordes was not a quirk of Anna and her father. Western writers such as Raymond of Aguilers and Peter Tudebode attest the hostility and fear shown by the population of such towns as Castoria and Roussa.¹⁷⁸ Anna herself recounts that locusts preceded the first wave of Westerners. Their devouring of vines rather than wheat was interpreted by "the omen-diviners of the time" as meaning that "this so great Celtic army would hold off from the affairs of the Christians, but would smite terribly the barbarous Ishmaelites".¹⁷⁹ Thus ordinary Byzantines were apprehensive about the arrival of the Crusaders, even before the Crusaders' violent conduct added substance to their fears. It appalled not only the Constantinopolitan populace but also "those who were well-disposed towards the emperor".¹⁸⁰ Alexius had every reason, then, to obfuscate his role in unleashing the "Frankenstein's monster" which he had unintentionally called into being. His dilemma was all the more acute in that, as Anna acknowledges,¹⁸¹ he faced many internal conspiracies and rebellions, and his techniques of steppe-diplomacy and employing mercenaries had been bluntly criticized in public by Patriarch John the Oxite only a few years before. John had also observed that Alexius had gained the throne illicitly, and interpreted Guiscard's subsequent invasion as God's "punishment" for what the City had suffered at the hand of Alexius' soldiers in April, 1081.¹⁸² Alexius' stance as defender of Byzantium against all the

177. *Al.*, X,5, vol.II, p.209.

178. *Gesta Francorum*, ed. Hill, p.8; Peter Tudebode, *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere*, ed. J.H.Hill, L.L.Hill and J.Richard (Paris, 1977), p.45; Raymond of Aguilers, *Liber*, ed. J.H. and L.L.Hill (Paris, 1969), pp.39-40.

179. *Al.*, X,5, vol.II, p.208.

180. *Al.*, X,9, vol.II, pp.221-2.

181. *Al.*, XII,5, vol.III, p.67.

182. John Ox., pp.26,29,40. The "unlawful (*ekthesmos*) foundation of your reign" of which John spoke was known to hostile Westerners such as Ekkehard, who heard that Alexius had "usurped the empire" with the aid of some German soldiers (Frut.-Ek., p.166). Alexius' well-wishers in Constantinople feared in April 1097 that he might be about to receive "full requital" for his capture of the City sixteen years earlier (*Al.*, X,9, vol.II, p.222). For Zonaras' strictures on Alexius, see P.Magdalino, 'Aspects of twelfth-century Byzantine *Kaiserpolitik*', *Speculum*, lviii (1983), pp.329-30.

barbarians would have lost something of its heroic cast – and therefore his regime something of its legitimacy – if he had formally acknowledged that he was partly responsible for “the onset of the barbarians” (*ten ephodon ton barbaron*),¹⁸³ so feared by him and his subjects alike.

We do, in fact, possess a brief allusion to the First Crusade in a work composed by Alexius himself. In a poem addressed to his son and heir John not long before his death, Alexius refers to what must be Crusades, both one that is past, and fears of another to come. He urges John to ponder upon “the massing together hither from the West, lest perchance the time of duress (*anagkes*) having sprung upon (us) will disgrace the majestic grandeur of New Rome and will humble the dignity of the throne”.¹⁸⁴ Alexius warns of “the barbarians breathing together hatred at us (*echthron hemin sympneonton*)” whose “opened jaws” will need to be stuffed with treasure. P.Maas, the poem’s editor, rightly connects the word “massing together” (*sygkinesis*) with its use by Anna to denote the First Crusade.¹⁸⁵ The poem boasts about Alexius’ repulse of the barbarians: “Which cavalryman slapping on his steed from the western land... and which people, and the thousands from all around, have not yielded, have not cowered, have not shrunk back, routed by me?”¹⁸⁶ Clearly, Alexius regarded his own stuffing of Crusader jaws as a positive achievement, and drops no hint of his role in initially whetting their appetites. It is questionable whether John or Anna were aware of their father’s diplomatic activities in 1094-5, a time when Anna was only eleven or twelve years old.

183. *Al.*, X,5, vol.II, p.208.

184. P.Maas, ‘Die Musen des Kaisers Alexios I’, *BZ*, xxii (1913), p.358, 11.330-3. Maas’ attribution of the poem to Alexius is convincing (pp.365-7; Hunger, *Hochsprach. prof. Literatur*, II, p.160). By rendering *anagkes* by “necessity” and *sympneonton* by “breathing together (with us)”, one might surmise some reference to Alexius’ involuntary recourse to the West for aid and to the barbarians as allies, breathing together with the Byzantines against the enemy. But this rendering jars with the sense of the passage as a whole.

185. Maas, ‘Musen’, p.358, footnote; *Al.*, X,5, vol.II, p.209; above, p.112. Anna’s silence about this poem, which is in effect a “political testament” to her detested brother John, may be deliberate: Maas, p.366; Hunger, *Hochsprach. prof. Literatur*, II, p.160.

186. Maas, ‘Musen’, p.352, 11.118-22.

Alexius would have had every incentive to destroy documentary evidence of his *démarches* and to encourage the notion that the Crusade came as a complete surprise, as the *Alexiad* would have us believe.¹⁸⁷ Anna did have access to some government documents¹⁸⁸ from which, presumably, she learnt of Alexius' epistolary offensive in 1081, summons for aid "from all sides" in 1090-1, and expectation of "mercenaries... from Rome" in April 1091. But even if Anna did have some glimmering, from documents or rumours, of Alexius' dealings with the West on the eve of the Crusade, she is most unlikely to have been prepared to mar the version of events which her father's poem purveys – that the Western hordes formed one "of the many foes encircling the City".¹⁸⁹

Anna's representation of the Cumans' encounter with Alexius' army in the spring of 1091 as fortuitous may likewise be a conscious suppression of the facts. For there can be little doubt that their arrival at a critical moment in Alexius' campaign against the Pechenegs was in response to one of his summonses for aid "from all sides" during the winter of 1090/1.¹⁹⁰ Anna, rather than her source, may have been reluctant fully to divulge the extent of Alexius' collusion with the Cumans prior to his triumph over the Pechenegs with their assistance at the Battle of Lebounion.

There were, in Byzantium's diplomatic arsenal, devices of infinite variety. During Alexius Comnenus' dealings with the Pechenegs he resorted to furnishing an emissary with such solemn documents as chrysobulls. These were to be issued if he could persuade the Pechenegs to make peace, give hostages and halt their advance, but not otherwise.¹⁹¹ In his *démarches* towards the West Alexius laid heavy emphasis on his stock of relics and on the fact

187. There is a lacuna in the text at the beginning of Anna's account of the Crusade: *Al.*, X,5, vol.II, p.206. Perhaps the lacuna goes back to Anna's autograph manuscript and merely reflects her ignorance about the dates of events in her childhood.

188. Hunger, *Hochsprach. prof. Literatur*, I, p.406.

189. Maas, 'Musen', p.358, 1.339.

190. *Al.*, VIII,4, vol.II, p.136. They are last mentioned as in the Balkans in 1089: *Al.*, VII,6, vol.II, p.106.

191. *Al.*, VII,5, vol.II, pp.105-6; Dölger, no.1144.

that he and the Westerners worshipped the same God. While some Western knights might be attracted by the hope of a gift of relics or, even, stirred by a sense of religious affinity, the rhetoric of affinity served mainly to dignify and solemnize the Byzantine recruiting efforts, and to shame lay and ecclesiastical magnates into sending troops. The "Celtic nature" remained, however, greedy, fickle, impetuous and treacherous, and Alexius assumed that hopes of wealth and fame were the true motives of most of those knights who came East: the troops "expected" from the papacy in 1091 are described by Anna as "mercenaries" (*misthophorikon*), who would thus have to be paid.¹⁹² As has been stated above,¹⁹³ one aim of the "Churchy" tone of Byzantine propaganda in the late eleventh century was to curb the greed and treachery of the "Franks" whom they were obliged to employ or ally with. If Alexius assumed material gain to be the driving motivation of such Westerners as responded to his appeals for knightly assistance in the early 1090s, he was bound to assume the same when "the entire West and every barbarian race inhabiting the land beyond the Adriatic as far as the Pillars of Hercules migrated all together to Asia". His poem instructs John Comnenus "to take care to lay up in store" such things as will satiate any future Crusade.¹⁹⁴ Of course, the Eastern appeals for aid were metamorphosed and subordinated to papal ideas and ambitions by Urban II at Clermont, and the mass movement unleashed exceeded even Urban's expectations. One may nonetheless conclude that Alexius' tragedy was that many Westerners actually believed that they would be welcomed by him as brothers and fellow Christians¹⁹⁵ – and that he could not believe that they believed in his rhetoric of affinity.

192. *Al.*, VIII,5, vol.II, p.139. *Misthophorikon* was used of any barbarians whose military service the emperor enlisted in return for wages, e.g. the Turks whom Çaka tried to suborn (*Al.*, VIII,3, vol.II, p.134).

193. See above, p.102.

194. *Al.*, X,5, vol.II, p.207; Maas, 'Musen', p.358, 11.334-5.

195. See Raymond of Aguilers, *Liber*, p.38. I hope to return to this topic elsewhere.

[This paper, though longer than the version read in Oxford, has not been radically recast, and aspires to raise questions rather than to offer scholarly completeness]

Abbreviations

- Ahrweiler – H.Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966)
- Al. – Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, ed. B.Leib, I-III (Paris, 1937-45)
- Attal. – Michael Attaleiates, *Historia*, ed. I.Bekker (Bonn, 1853)
- Christides – V.Christides, 'The Raids of the Moslems of Crete in the Aegean Sea: Piracy and Conquest (800-961 A.D.)', *B*, li (1981), pp.76-111
- DAI – Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, tr. R.J.H. Jenkins (Washington, D.C., 1967)
- DAI: Comm. – *De Administrando Imperio*: vol. II, *Commentary*, ed. R.J.H.Jenkins London, 1962)
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- De Them. – Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Thematibus*, ed. A.Pertusi (Rome, 1952)
- Dölger – F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, I, pt.2 (Munich, 1925)
- Frut.-Ek. – *Frutolfi et Ekkehardi Chronica*, ed. F.-J.Schmale and I.Schmale-Ott, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur Deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, xv (Darmstadt, 1972)
- Gay – J.Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin (867-1071)* (Paris, 1904)
- Hagenmeyer – H.Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100* (Innsbruck, 1901)
- John Ox. – Patriarch John the Oxite, 'Diatribes... contre Alexis I Comnène', ed. and tr. P.Gautier, *REB*, xxviii (1970), pp.5-55.
- Liudpr., *Ant./Leg.* – Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis/Legatio*

- in *Opera*, ed. J.Becker, *MGH, Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum* (Hanover-Leipzig, 1915)
- Nich.Myst. – Nicholas Mysticus, *Letters*, ed. and tr. R.J.H.Jenkins and L.G.Westerink (Washington, D.C., 1973)
- Scyl. – John Scylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. H.Thurn (Berlin-New York, 1973)
- Stern – S.M.Stern, 'An Embassy of the Byzantine Emperor to the Fatimid Caliph al-Muizz', *B*, xx (1950), pp.239-58
- Theo. Con. – Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838)
- von Falkenhausen – V. von Falkenhausen, *La dominazione bizantina nell' Italia meridionale dal IX all' XI secolo* (Bari, 1978)
- Waha – M. de Waha, 'La lettre d'Alexis I Comnène à Robert I le Frison', *B*, xlvii (1977), pp.113-25

IV

ENDS AND MEANS IN LIUDPRAND OF CREMONA

K.J. LEYSER / OXFORD

It is possible and indeed tempting to see the whole of the tenth century through the eyes of a few quintessential writers, to find it personified and characterised in all its richness and variety, its fertile diversities no less than its Latin Christian unities, in the pages of Widukind of Corvey, Thietmar of Merseburg, Flodoard, Richer and more still than any of these, in Liudprand of Cremona. For Italy as the centre of a Mediterranean axis and the hub of a northern world he is our chief spokesman, not least of all because he himself was conscious of this situation and cast himself in the role of a European historian. He is also the representative of a vigorous, legally literate and articulate urban life which began to gather momentum, autonomy and above all wealth under the blanket of its alien, immigré, neither wholly absorbed nor yet wholly unabsorbed ruling class, the Carolingian high aristocracy. To even the most purist Byzantinist Liudprand of Cremona is and must be an arresting and inescapable figure. To understand his writings and his aims as the self-conscious portrayer of divine justice visiting the doings of enervate kings, as the agent and apologist of Otto I's dealings with the papacy and lastly as the irate pamphleteer against Nicephorus Phocas's Byzantium, we must first of all locate him socially.¹ Where should we place his family and connections?

1. A specific survey and characterisation of tenth-century historiography is not readily to hand. On Liudprand of Cremona see above all his editor, Joseph Becker, *Liudprandi Opera*, MGH, SRG (Hannover and Leipzig, 1915), pp.VII-XXIII, M.Manitius, *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, II (Munich, 1923), pp.166-175, W.Wattenbach and R.Holtzmann, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter Deutsche Kaiserzeit*, I,2 (Tübingen, 1948), pp.318-321 and *Nachträge in Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter Die Zeit der Sachsen und Salier*, Dritter Teil, ed. F.-J.Schmale (Darmstadt,

They belonged to the royal *familiaritas*, the *palatium* of Pavia, the men who controlled the sophisticated, slippery and at the same time profitable levers of government under a succession of royal adventurers from the North, eventually the Ottonians and Salians. Their views, attitudes and interests did not always coincide with those of their masters, nor did Liudprand, for all his devotion to Otto I and his family, strike all the right notes in the *Legatio*, as we shall see. The future envoy to Constantinople came from an influential, local family. His *parentes* gained for him, not without much outlay of cash, the post of a confidential secretary to Margrave Berengar, the controlling power after the fall and departure of King Hugh whom Liudprand had served from boyhood onwards.² His relations with Byzantium were in fact hereditary. Both his stepfather and his father had been on embassies to the East, the one in 941, the other in 927.³ Liudprand himself was to go on them at least three times, most probably four: in 949 when he acted as emissary for Berengar, in 960 when his mission for Otto I seems to have been halted on the island of Paxos and he described himself as a prisoner, in 968/69, the mission which is recorded in the *Legatio* and lastly, if the *Translatio Sancti Hymerii* is to be believed, in 971 when he was one of two bishops who accompanied Archbishop Gero of Cologne to the court of John I Tzimiskes to escort a long-hoped-for bride for Otto II and her treasures back to Italy. From this journey, according to the *Translatio*, he never returned to Cremona again. He is thought to have died though on

1971), p.102f. More recently see J.N.Sutherland, 'The Idea of Revenge in Lombard Society in the Eighth and Tenth Centuries: The Cases of Paul the Deacon and Liudprand of Cremona', *Speculum*, L(1975), pp.391-410, J.Koder-Th.Weber, *Liutprand von Cremona in Konstantinopel, Untersuchungen zum griechischen Sprachschatz und zu realienkundlichen Aussagen in seinen Werken, Byzantina Vindobonensia*, 13 (Vienna, 1980) and M.Rentschler, *Liudprand von Cremona, Eine Studie zum ost-westlichen Kulturgefälle, im Mittelalter, Frankfurter Wissenschaftliche Beiträge, Kulturwissenschaftliche Reihe*, 14 (Frankfurt, 1981) – often questionable.

2. *Liudprandi Antapodosis*, iv,1, ed. Becker, p.104 and *Antapodosis*, v, 30, p.149: 'secretorum eius conscius ac epistolarum constituunt signatorem'.
3. *Antapodosis*, iii, 22-24, pp.82-83, his father's embassy. For his stepfather's see *Antapodosis*, v, 14, 15, pp.137-139 and see R.Hiestand, *Byzanz und das Regnum Italicum im 10. Jahrhundert* (Zürich, 1964), pp.154f., 181ff.

Italian soil. Whether he wanted to or not -and the *Translatio* has it that he was forced to go – his expertise and speaking knowledge of Greek were indispensable. Of late the *Translatio S.Hymerii* has come to be regarded as a better source than it was in Becker's and Max Manitius's day.⁴

Girolamo Arnaldi, in his Spoleto paper 'Liutprando e la storiografia contemporanea nell'Italia centro-settentrionale' thought that Liudprand came of merchant stock but it seems unlikely.⁵ This is not to underrate the roles and functions of merchants in tenth-century diplomacy. Liudprand himself has described how he met Otto I's envoy to Byzantium, Liutfrid, in Venice before August 25, 949, the day of their joint departure, and Liutfrid was a very rich Mainz merchant.⁶ John of Gorze's embassy to Cordoba in 953 relied heavily on the services of experienced Verdun merchants and the relief mission which had to be sent to extricate John from Cordoba was conducted and manned by a Verdun trader.⁷ But while Liudprand treated Otto I's envoy with respect, elsewhere he talks of merchants with an air of distance, not to say disdain. The Venetians and Amalfitans earned their livelihood by selling 'us' Byzantine purple-dyed cloaks, he reported himself saying to the imperial authorities, and he bitterly resented that his purchases of purple mantles should be treated like the merchants'.⁸ He was of course a bishop by then but his voice became one of scorn in

4. For 960 see *Antapodosis*, iii,1, p.74. For the embassy of 971 see the *Translatio S.Hymerii*, MGH, SS, III, p.266, n.23, Becker, *Liudprandi Opera*, p.XII, Manitius, II, p.171f. Already Dümmler in R.Köpke and E.Dümmler, *Kaiser Otto der Grosse, Jahrbücher der Deutschen Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1867), p.478, n.3 was inclined to accept the report of the *Translatio*. For a more recent endorsement of the *Translatio* as a contemporary source and of Liudprand's last visit to Constantinople in 971 see W.Ohnsorge, 'Die Heirat Ottos II. mit der Byzantinerin Theophano', *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch*, 54 (1973), p.39 and n.69.

5. *La Storiografia Altomedievale, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo*, XVII (Spoleto, 1970), II, p.517f.

6. *Antapodosis*, vi, 4, p.153f. and Arnaldi, p.518.

7. *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis*, cc.116,117,130,134, MGH, SS, IV, pp.370,375,376 and see also Arnaldi, p.518.

8. *Liudprandi Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana*, c.55, *Liudprandi Opera*, ed. cit., p.205, henceforth cited *Legatio*.

Legatio, c.9 when he belittled the onlookers who lined the route of the Emperor Nicephorus Phocas's procession. The crowd which gathered along the way from the palace to Hagia Sophia was made up of traders and ignoble persons, he wrote.⁹ From this it would appear that Liudprand sprang from a family of urban nobles with hereditary palace connections. He thought himself a cut above merchants and is anxious to let us know that he was by birth a man of rank as well as substance. In the first chapter of Book III of the *Antapodosis* he explains to his mandatory, Bishop Recemund of Elvira, the strange title he had chosen for his work: it was to be one of retribution against Berengar, now king of Italy and his wife Willa with whom he had fallen out and broken so that he fled northwards to the Ottonian court where he was able to enter the service of Otto I's chapel. He would repay Berengar and Willa for their lies, their plunder and the impieties they had committed against his, Liudprand's house, his *cognatio* and his *familia*. Let us weigh his words carefully. He spoke of his house as if he had now become the head of it – we do not know when his stepfather or his mother died. He had a *cognatio* and a *familia* which meant men who served him, unfree and free, for their keep and perhaps their prospects, and all this well before he had become a bishop.¹⁰

Diplomacy in the tenth century may well have been a rewarding if dangerous occupation. We know from Liudprand that his father rendered valuable services to the Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and was richly repaid for them. He had apparently been assaulted by Slav rebels near Thessalonica but the attack must have been beaten off and some of the leading assailants were captured. He himself could present them to the emperor.¹¹ It could well be that not only the standing but also the wealth of Liudprand's family owed something to these occasions. His own experience in 949 can serve as an illustration. Liudprand in the *Antapodosis* is very bitter about Berengar's meanness. The costs of the embassy were borne by his stepfather – it must be remembered that Berengar was not

9. *Legatio*, c.9, p.180.

10. *Antapodosis*, iii, 1, p.74.

11. *Antapodosis*, iii, 24, p.83.

yet king – and Liudprand himself (or rather his stepfather) had to provide the indispensable gifts to present to Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Berengar had only furnished him with a letter. He has told us what he offered: 9 hauberks, 7 shields with gilded bosses, 2 silver-gilt cups, swords, lances, spits and 4 eunuch slaves.¹² Constantine not only honoured him with a relatively early second audience at which he himself conversed with the envoy which was unusual. Dinner followed and afterwards the emperor also gave him and his followers a great gift.¹³ But this was not all. In the week before Palm Sunday Liudprand, no doubt to impress him, was invited to watch the annual payment of their *δόγαι* to the *rector domus*, the commander-in-chief and the admiral, followed by the highest-ranking dignitaries, the *magistroi* and *patrikioi*, then the *protospatharioi* and many others. Liudprand saw the ‘pay-parade’ and noted, as he was meant to, particularly its dignity and orderliness. Asked what he thought of it by Constantine but through the logothete, Liudprand had the wit, not to say effrontery, to reply that it would please him very well if it were of any use to him, just as the rich man parching in hell would have been pleased by Lazarus’s ease if it had given him any relief but since this did not happen, how could it please him? Constantine took this well and gave the ambassador a great court dress and a pound of gold.¹⁴ Altogether Liudprand may have gone home scarcely any poorer than when he arrived with his presents. In the *Antapodosis*, in sum, he can be seen as something of a client of the Macedonian dynasty, a clientage which echoed and had resonance still in the *Legatio*.

Hitherto Liudprand has been known to us through three works to which a few papal privileges, exchanges, *placita*, a diploma and a letter of Otto I’s, where he appears, can be added: the *Antapodosis* which he began to write in 958 and had not yet finished in 962 when Otto I had been crowned emperor by Pope John XII, the *Historia Ottonis* which he wrote in 964/65 cutting out abruptly with the

12. *Antapodosis*, vi, 3, 6, pp.153, 155f.

13. *Antapodosis*, vi, 7, p.156: ‘magnoque post convivium me meosque asseculas munere donavit’.

14. *Antapodosis*, vi, 10, p.157f. for Liudprand’s thorough description of the occasion.

degradation of Pope Benedict V as an *invasor*, then finally the *Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana*.¹⁵ This, in the form of a letter addressed to Otto I, his son and fellow-emperor, Otto II, and Adelheid, the *Augusta*, must have been written in 969 shortly after Liudprand's return to Italy from Corfu where we hear of him by his own account early in January with strident complaints about further delays and extortion. The *Legatio*, as we have it, also breaks off unfinished. It may well rest on notes Liudprand made *en route* and it must be distinguished from any written report he may have submitted to the Ottonians on his return.

To these three *opera* must now be added a fourth. It has long been known that Bishop Abraham of Freising (957-993/4) possessed a copy of the *Antapodosis* and the *Historia Ottonis*. Italian peculiarities have been traced in this Freising manuscript (now at Munich, clm 6388), an important branch in the transmission of the text which became one of the channels of its early propagation.¹⁶

15. For the papal privileges see *Papsturkunden 896-1046*, I, ed. H. Zimmermann, *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften*, 174 *Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission*, III (Vienna, 1984), Nos. 179, 185, 186, 187, a *spurium* for Meissen, 197, all 967-969. For Liudprand's participation in a royal judgement at Ravenna, April 967, see C. Manaresi, *I placiti del "Regnum Italiae"*, II, i, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* (Rome, 1957), No. 155, p. 51 and also No. 156, p. 56 of June 12, 967 at Monte Veltraio where he subscribed: 'Hliuto episcopus interfui'. He intervened on behalf of the Patriarch Rodald of Aquileia in Otto I's diploma of April 29 of 967. See *MGH, Diplomatum Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae Tomus I. Conradi I. Heinrici I. et Ottonis I. Diplomata* (Hannover, 1879-84), No. 341. For his prominent role as Otto I's representative at a synod in Milan in 969 see *I placiti*, II, i, No. 206, pp. 242-44. In 970 he also presided over a plea together with Count Heccico 'comes vassus et missus imperialis' at Ferrara. See *I placiti*, No. 164, pp. 97-99. The last two can serve as evidence to show that Liudprand remained high in the esteem and confidence of Otto I after his embassy to Constantinople in 968.
16. On Bishop Abraham of Freising see *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, I, herausgegeben von der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin, 1953), p. 21 and K. Leyser, 'Liudprand of Cremona, Preacher and Homilist' in *The Bible in the Medieval World: Essays in memory of Beryl Smalley, Subsidia IV to Studies in Church History*, ed. K. Walsh and D. Wood (Oxford, 1985), pp. 45ff. On Clm. 6388 see N. Daniel, *Handschriften des zehnten Jahrhunderts aus der Freisinger Dombibliothek - Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung*, xi, Arbo-Gesellschaft (Munich, 1973), pp. 105-6 and J. Koder, 'Liutprand von Cremona

Bishop Abraham of Freising had however an even more famous codex, now clm 6426, his handbook as a bishop with homilies, including one by Rather of Verona, canonistic snippets, *formulae*, blessings and Old Slavonic texts which had a part to play in the missionary efforts of the See of Freising in Carinthia.¹⁷ Here, also, there is a homily by Liudprand, an Easter sermon. We owe its discovery to Bernhard Bischoff who has now edited it. He can show that the fascicle with the sermon was handled by Liudprand himself who gave it its superscription in Greek.¹⁸ Bischoff dated the sermon about the year 960, a difficult time because we know that Liudprand was then employed on a mission eastwards and suffered arrest in Paxos but this may have happened in summer so that there was room for the homily before he departed.¹⁹ As he calls himself a deacon it must fall into the time before his promotion to the episcopate but from internal evidence it could have been written and delivered when it was imminent and expected. In his sermon Liudprand reveals himself as a schooled theologian and a dialectician. The Trinity is triumphantly vindicated against a Hebrew whose arguments are taken to task one by one. This leads him to expound the Incarnation and to extol Easter as the victory of life over death. However deeds must follow words. Liudprand above all exhorts his brethren, fellow clerks, to works of charity. It is here that we can once again locate him socially and recognise his own situation in his vivid images: if we meet the *familiares* of kings and princes we receive them with great honour and offer them precious

und die Griechische Sprache' in J.Koder-Th.Weber (as in n.1), pp.62-65.

17. On this manuscript see B.Bischoff, 'Über gefaltete Handschriften, vornehmlich hagiographischen Inhalts', in his *Mittelalterliche Studien*, I (Stuttgart, 1966), pp.93-100 and Daniel, *Handschriften*, pp.114ff.
18. B.Bischoff, 'Eine Osterpredigt Liudprands von Cremona (um 960)', in his *Anecdota Novissima Texte des vierten bis sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, VII (Stuttgart, 1984), pp.20-34.
19. For Liudprand's mission halted on Paxos see *Antapodosis*, iii,1, p.74 and K.Leyser, 'The Tenth Century in Byzantine-Western Relationships', in *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. D.Baker (Edinburgh, 1973), p.30 and n.7 and in Leyser, *Medieval Germany and Its Neighbours 900-1250* (London, 1982), p.104.

gifts even if they protest. The poor are the *familiares* of our Lord, Christ, but we offer them little or nothing.²⁰

In its vivacity and social forcefulness the sermon is very much the authentic and familiar voice of Liudprand. What light does this newcomer throw on the works we know? Here we must above all look at the *Antapodosis* and leave aside for the moment the *Historia Ottonis* and the *Legatio*. Not only were sermon and *Antapodosis* conceived in temporal closeness to one another, the *Book of Retribution* is also much less of a *livre d'occasion* than were both the *History* and the *Embassy*. Here the sermon only strengthens an impression that can already be gained without it: it is Liudprand's seriousness and homiletic urgency throughout. He will not countenance any accommodation and self-interested cow-bargaining between Christians and their heathen attackers, Saracens, and Magyars alike. Those who engaged in such practices for their own ends like the nobles of Provence, the Emperor Arnolf and later, Hugh of Arles, King of Italy, who allowed the Saracens of Fraxinetum to survive in order to block the Alpine passes for him, all incurred the just penalties of God's wrath. The Emperor Arnolf was in the end eaten by worms.²¹ Liudprand has often been regarded as a light-hearted, scurrilous writer, only too anxious to entertain, revelling in sexual anecdote and without a larger or

20. Bischoff, 'Osterpredigt', pp.21-22 and Leyser, 'Liudprand of Cremona', (as in n.16), pp.47-53.

21. For Liudprand's condemnation of the Emperor Arnolf whom he accused of opening the Magyars' way into Western Europe see *Antapodosis*, i,13, pp.15-16. He blamed him also for outrages committed by his men during the invasion of Italy in 896, *op. cit.*, i,33, pp.25-26. For Arnolf's death see *Antap.* i,36, p.27. Here Liudprand did not want to be sure whether Arnolf suffered on earth and eternally for his crime of letting in the Magyars or whether his horrible illness atoned for this. For Liudprand's censure of Hugh of Arles's *foedus* with the Saracens of Fraxinetum see *Antap.* v, 17, p.139. It too was followed by divine retribution: *Antapodosis*, v, 31, p.149. However, while Liudprand (*Antap.* iii,37, p.91) denounced Romanos Lekapenos for giving himself and one of his sons precedence over Constantine VII as *basileis*, he did not animadvert on him for allegedly inviting the African Saracens to help him subdue rebellious Byzantine provinces in Southern Italy (*Antap.*, ii,45, p.57f.).

deeper message.²² That does him scant justice. In the very opening of the *Antapodosis* he has told us that the minds of academicians, peripatetics and stoics, tired if they were not refreshed again by the 'utilis comoediarum risus' and the enjoyable histories of heroic deeds. If this is true of the execrable pagans, if we read of Pompey, Hannibal, Hasdrubal and Scipio Africanus, which is noxious, why should the deeds of their Christian equals be ignored, and – he adds by implication – the 'utilis comoediarum risus' not also be harnessed to the exposure of vice, sloth or merit, here for didactic purposes? This is what in the sequel he does.²³

Liudprand the Byzantinist must be placed into a larger setting. The very ample space assigned to Byzantium in the historical landscape of the *Antapodosis* can only be understood if we are aware of what Liudprand had in mind when he planned and wrote it. Here we must turn to the dedication of the *Antapodosis*. It was addressed to and its very composition had been prompted by Recemund, bishop of Elvira, in Spain under the rule of the Umayyad Caliph Abd ar-Rahman III.²⁴ Liudprand had escaped from Italy and at first his exile seems to have been far from easy. He may not have found at once a ready welcome in the Ottonian entourage and until 955 Otto was engaged in almost continuous warfare. Of Charlemagne Einhard had written that he loved

22. For these judgements on Liudprand see Leyser, 'Liudprand of Cremona, Preacher and Homilist', p.55f. More recently J.N.Sutherland in his articles, 'The Idea of Revenge', *cf. supra*, n.1 and 'The Mission to Constantinople in 968 and Liudprand of Cremona', *Traditio*, xxxi (1975), pp.55-81 did not join this chorus of dismissal but he concluded all the same: 'Liudprand was neither a profound thinker nor a specially religious man' (*Speculum*, L, p.408) and, to my mind a sad misjudgment, 'The *Antapodosis* shows few signs of a well-developed sense of God, his nature and power, or his purpose in creating the world', (*ibid.*).

23. *Antapodosis*, i,1, pp.3-5.

24. On Recemund of Elvira see *Le Liber Ordinum en usage dans l'église wisigothique et mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle*, publié par D.Marius Férotin, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica*, v (Paris, 1904 and reprint, Farnborough, 1969), pp.xxxiii-xxxv. See also H.Florez, *Espana Sagrada*, xii (Madrid, 1754), pp.171-174 and E.Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane*, II (Paris, Leiden, 1950), pp.139,148-149,161-162 and vol.III (Paris, 1953), pp.222-23 and p.239f.

foreigners and spared no trouble and expense to entertain and keep them at his court.²⁵ Widukind of Corvey who followed Einhard's *topoi* and used his words so skilfully in presenting Otto I to his readers did not repeat this, like other Einhard passages, when he wrote of the Saxon king. Perhaps Otto I did not like foreigners but it was inevitable with his growing prestige that they should flock to his court and seek his protection and goodwill. He also had uses for their services, not least of all Liudprand's. Liudprand met Recemund of Elvira at Otto's February *curia* in Frankfurt in 956.²⁶ He had come there as the envoy of Abd ar-Rahman III to find a way out of a quandary. Three years before Otto had sent a mission to Cordoba headed by none other than John of Gorze. They came with presents and the usual letter but here the trouble lay. The letter's contents were known in Cordoba before the ambassadors presented them.²⁷ They contained a few commonplaces aimed at the *perfidia* of the Caliph which could only be regarded as blasphemy of the Islamic faith. The penalty for this was death and not even the diplomatic immunity of the envoys could have shielded them from this fate if Otto I's missive, drafted under the auspices of his brother Brun, the *archicapellanus*, had been read aloud and interpreted to the Caliph's court. He himself was compromised if he connived and knowingly countenanced such utterances. The two great empires, Cordoba and Byzantium at the western and eastern ends of the Mediterranean both feared diplomatic surprises and maintained what might be called a diplomatic early warning system. That Otto I chose two reforming monks, like John and his companion Garamannus for the embassy to Cordoba was in itself very significant. These men were already *perfecti* and dead to the world, ready, if need be, to face martyrdom. The real point of this mission was not so much the Saracen raiders' nest at Fraxinetum, only nominally

25. *Einhardi Vita Karoli Magni*, c.21, 6th. ed., O.Holder-Egger, *MGH, SRG* (Hannover and Leipzig, 1911 and reprints, 1940, 1967), p.26.

26. Köpke, Dümmler, *Kaiser Otto der Grosse*, pp.277-280 and J.F.Böhmer, E. v. Ottenthal, *Regesta Imperii*, II *Sächsisches Haus 919-1024*, 1: *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Heinrich I. und Otto I. 919-973* (Innsbruck, 1893 and Hildesheim, 1967), No.241a.

27. *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis*, cc.119,120, *MGH, SS*, IV, p.371.

under the Caliph's jurisdiction, but a kind of religious reconnaissance. In the *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis* by John of St. Arnulf the last 22 chapters dealt with this Cordoban mission and the true villains in it were not Abd ar-Rahman and his court but the local Christians, the Mozarabs with their compromises, their assimilative practices, their anxiety not to give offence to their Moslem overlords.²⁸

Recemund of Elvira had been a well-educated, bilingual, lay court official, a secretary who redacted petitions and drafted their answers since all traffic into and out of the palace had to be in writing. The object of his mission was to persuade Otto I to re-draft the letter which his envoys had to present to the Caliph. John of Gorze had remained deaf to all proposals to suppress the original letter and offer the presents only. Recemund had volunteered for the counter-embassy after he had ascertained that it would not be dangerous. The bishopric of Elvira was his immediate reward.²⁹ That an envoy from Cordoba and Liudprand, the political refugee from the Italian kingdom could meet and make one another's acquaintance under Otto I's patronage says much for the new stature and eminence of the Saxon *Reich*. At his February court in Frankfurt Otto I also received ambassadors from Byzantium, Rome and other parts of the world, including 'Saracens', perhaps from Ifriqiya. They all came to congratulate him on his recent victories over Magyars and Obotrite Slavs and to honour him with the exotic, costly presents that were almost the purpose of these exchanges.³⁰

Recemund of Elvira, the Cordoban diplomat and Liudprand of a Pavese family, no doubt landed, but urban in upbringing and outlook, had much in common. They were the servants of princes with sophisticated courts, in Liudprand's case those of Hugh of Arles and Berengar II. They were *litterati* and men of talent. Recemund too was an author and part of the famous Cordoban

28. *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis*, cc.122,123, p.372.

29. *op. cit.*, cc.128,129, pp.374-75.

30. *Widukindi Monachi Corbeiensis Rerum Gestarum Saxonicarum Libri Tres*, iii, 56, 5th. ed. P.Hirsch and H.-E.Lohmann, MGH, SRG (Hannover, 1935), p.135.

Calendar with its survey of crop cultivations, one of our principal sources for the economy of Moslem Spain, is linked with him. Their Mediterranean likeness cannot be overlooked. It was Recemund who asked for a history with the 'deeds of the emperors and kings of the whole of Europe' to which Liudprand in the *Antapodosis* responded cautiously offering the 'deeds of the kings and princes of part of Europe'.³¹ That Liudprand did not offer his first major literary work to his Ottonian patrons and protectors but to a bishop *in partibus infidelium* is at first sight very surprising indeed, but I hope to show that in doing so he did not act against the wishes of his Liudolfing benefactors. The *Antapodosis* is a parallel history of Italy, the East-Frankish kingdom and Byzantium, roughly from the late ninth to the mid-tenth century. It is remarkable how little notice Liudprand took of Western *Francia* and Anglo-Saxon England. The deeds of emperors and kings are presented in a rough, sometimes very rough, chronological order and despite his switch to the theme of being even with Berengar II and his wife Willa, Liudprand adhered to a certain scheme. There is no doubt however that the pivot of his, for the most part Mediterranean world as far as it belonged to *Christianitas*, was Byzantium. Liudprand treated the Empire readily as the *caput* of the Christian universe as he skirted along his story: Rome, Italy, East-Francia and the Burgundian Kingdom with Provence being the other *regna* and principalities he kept under review all through. They are seen as parts of a larger whole, Europe, presided over by Constantinople, and Liudprand looked upon the Hungarian attacks and the depredations of the Saracens of Fraxinetum and Southern Italy as a compound threat to this whole. Now the inscription to Recemund of Elvira, the Spanish bishop *in partibus*, is not forgotten throughout the six books of the *Antapodosis*. He is addressed at least twelve times in the text. Some scholars, e.g. Martin Lintzel, thought that this was a mere literary

31. For Recemund's share in the calendar see Férotin (*supra*, n.24), pp. xxxiii-xxxv and esp. R. Dozy, *Le Calendrier de Cordoue*, new ed. and French translation by Ch. Pellat, *Medieval Iberian Peninsula Texts and Studies*, vol. I (Leiden, 1961). For Liudprand's programme in the *Antapodosis* cf. i, 1, p. 4: 'totius Europae... imperatorum regumque facta' with the well-attested heading: 'Regum atque principum partis Europae', p. 1.

fiction and therefore of no special importance. It seems to me to be, on the contrary, decisive for understanding the *Antapodosis* and its massive Byzantine component.³²

At this point it is necessary to glance briefly once more at the last 22 chapters of the *Life of John of Gorze* with their harsh criticism of the Mozarabs' temporising attitudes, the temptation to succumb to the attractions of Islamic urban culture only half resisted, the spread of syncretistic practices like refusing to eat pork and practising circumcision. In the ninth century this process of erosion had been checked and resisted by a spate of notoriously deliberate martyrdoms. By openly and publicly attacking Islam the Christian 'activists' forced the Moslem authorities in al-Andalus to persecute and so again harden the boundaries between the ruling and the ruled communities.³³ It seems that the challenge to assimilative and culturally fusing Christian urban society or at least its wealthier cells, now no longer came from within but from without. The author of the Lotharingian monk's *Life* told his readers that the Latins in Cordoba needed to be reminded of their duties as Christians. Their culture and their pleasures were suspect and wrong

Now Liudprand in the *Antapodosis*, in a less ascetic manner, had exactly the same message for the Spanish Christians or at least for one of their leading lights, an influential man whom he had come to know. Recemund of Elvira is addressed as one who had perforce to

32. M.Lintzel, 'Studien über Liudprand von Cremona', *Historische Studien*, 233 (Berlin, 1933), p.53 and M.Lintzel, *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Berlin, 1961), II, p.382. The places in the *Antapodosis* where Recemund is directly addressed or referred to are: i,1, pp.3-4; i,2 p.5 (Fraxinetum); i,11, p.13 (the vigilance of the Emperor Leo the Wise); i,30, p.24 (re-ordinations); i,44, p.31 (in praise of King Lambert, ob.898); iii,1, p.73 (explaining *antapódosis*); iii,3, p.75 (the burning of Pavia, 924); iv,1, p.104 (Liudprand henceforth a participant of what he relates); iv,6, p.105 (on Manasses of Arles); iv,24, p.117 (Otto I's victory at Birten); iv,28, p.123 (Otto resists temptation); v,2, p.131 (the Battle of Simancas); v,19, p.141 (a reference to Cordoba).

33. On these persecutions see F.R.Franke, 'Die freiwilligen Märtyrer von Cordoba und das Verhältnis der Mozaraber zum Islam', *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft*, Erste Reihe, vol.13 (1958), pp.1-170 and E.Colbert, *The Martyrs of Cordoba (850-859): A Study of the Sources*, The Catholic University of America. Studies in Mediaeval History New Series, xvii (Washington D.C., 1962 and Ann Arbor, 1977).

live among infidels. He must therefore be kept in touch and instructed. He must know what went on inside *Christianitas* and above all where its righteous interests and those of the Saracens and other enemies clashed. Recemund is asked to commemorate in his prayers the Pavese who were burned to death on March 12, 924, 'hora tertia' when the Hungarians assaulted the city and set it on fire.³⁴ When Liudprand mentioned a battle [at Simancas] fought on July 19 (939) where Abd ar-Rahman III suffered a sharp defeat at the hands of King Ramiro II of Leon, the bishop is meant to sympathise with the victors and not with his worsted master.³⁵ It is not for nothing that the very first topic of the *Antapodosis* was the Hispano-Arabic colony at Fraxinetum and the terrible damage it had inflicted on Provence and the Alpine regions. The *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis* and the *Antapodosis* had something startling in common despite their profoundly differing origins. John of Gorze's biographer dwelt above all on his hero's *constantia* when under duress in Cordoba and on his aggressive, not to say dangerously impolitic behaviour, especially towards the anxious Mozarabic dignitaries, the leading members of the Christian community in al-Andalus. The manners and the habitus of the Caliph were described up to a point in a tone of distance and an affected lack of curiosity. John remains a monk throughout. He would not wear the right clothes when the time for the long-awaited reception audience at last came, no court dress. The Caliph is made to be impressed by this. He had sent John ten pounds in coins to acquire robes and the envoy had given it all to the poor. Abd ar-Rhman in the end agreed to receive him in his black habit, saying he would see him even if he wore a sack.³⁶ To the biographer this irony served as proof for John's observance of the Rule at all times.

Behind the *Vita Iohannis* and the *Antapodosis* lay a hardening of attitudes which accompanied success. They hardened because

34. *Antapodosis*, iii, 3, p.75.

35. On the Battle of Simancas which was fought on August 1, 939 see R.Collins, *Early Medieval Spain Unity in Diversity, 400-1000* (London and Basingstoke, 1983), pp.197, 241 and Lévi-Provencal, *Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane*, II, pp.56-62.

36. *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis*, c.131, p.375.

Europe had until recently suffered too much from Norse, Saracens and Magyars not to be harsh and intolerant in its responses. It is this mood which shaped the pages of Liudprand no less than the biography of John of Gorze. Other texts, like, Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim's *Pelagius*, a poem in honour of one of the latest Christian martyrs in al-Andalus († 925) who rejected both conversion and homosexuality, strengthen the sense of a new aggressiveness.³⁷ It expressed itself in a profound distaste for everything associated with the enemies of Christianity. What matters here is that in Liudprand Byzantium is, like the West, surrounded by ferocious *gentes* and some of their enemies, like Magyars, Northmen and Saracens, they shared. Even though Otto I is, in Book IV of the *Antapodosis*, called 'nunc imperator', the problem of the two emperors does not cloud the pages of the *Antapodosis*.^{37a}

We do not know whether Recemund of Elvira ever received a *Wiedmungsexemplar* of the work especially written for him. We should assume he did rather than not even though it lacked a formal conclusion and a Spanish branch of its transmission has barely been hinted at. The *Antapodosis* had an important literary afterlife and spread in Lotharingia, Bavaria and Austria, not apparently in Italy. Writers like Sigebert of Gembloux and Frutolf of Michelsberg used and valued it.³⁸ It has been suggested that the Ottonians may not have felt slighted that the *Antapodosis* in which they were after all referred to almost always in a panegyric tone, was addressed to Recemund of Elvira rather than one of them, say the literate Empress Adelheid with her own interests in Italy. The letter John of Gorze had to take to Cordoba was the Saxon king's rejoinder to the Caliph's own, matter of course, Islamic self-assertion. Its Christian counterthrust was, as we saw, deliberate. To extricate the

37. *Hrotsvithae Opera*, ed. P. Winterfeld, MGH, SRG (Berlin, Zürich, 1965), pp. 52-62 and *Hrotsvithae Opera*, ed. H. Homeyer (Paderborn, 1970), pp. 123-146.

37a. *Antapodosis*, vi, 4, p. 153.

38. For the spread of Liudprand's *Antapodosis* see the introduction of Becker's edition, pp. xxxii-xxxiv and J. Becker, *Textgeschichte Liudprands von Cremona, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, iii, 2 (Munich, 1908), pp. 39-46 and also Manitius, p. 174.

ambassador it had to be suppressed but a historical survey of Christian Europe's sufferings and then its growing strength and solidarity sent to a Christian servant of the Umayyads, made really the same point, albeit in a more roundabout way. The destruction of Fraxinetum remained high on Otto I's programme as late as 968 when Liudprand was in Constantinople and the showdown with the Greeks in Southern Italy had taken a menacing turn.³⁹

To it and the *Legatio* we must now turn. Liudprand was in Constantinople only from 4 June to 2 October, 968. For an embassy over such distances this was in the tenth century not an exceptionally long time. John of Gorze had been detained in Cordoba for three years and the envoys Abd ar-Rahman III had previously sent to Otto I spent no less time involuntarily in Germany. The Caliph's principal ambassador, a bishop, had died.⁴⁰ The general prospects for Liudprand's mission were poor after Otto I's setback and retreat from Bari in March 968.⁴¹ Without a fleet he could not take it but he had found allies in the south and could continue to threaten the Greeks there. Even so, it must be remembered that Liudprand received a chrysobull and it is quite possible that the exchanges between him and his interlocutors were nothing like as shrill and heated as the *Legatio* suggests.⁴² If Nicephorus Phocas denied Otto the *basileus Francorum* title which we find twice in Cedrenus, he certainly did not break all bridges with Liudprand.⁴³ Nor must we

39. For this see Otto I's letter of 968 in Widukind, *Res Gestae Saxonicae*, iii, 70, ed. cit., p.147 announcing his intention to return home via Fraxinetum and to destroy the Saracens there.

40. *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis*, c.115, p.370.

41. For the situation on the eve of Liudprand's embassy see Köpke, Dümmler, *Kaiser Otto der Grosse*, p.436f., Bömer-Ottenthal, *Regesta Imperii*, ii,1, No.468b, c and R.Holtzmann, *Geschichte der Sächsischen Kaiserzeit* (Munich, 1943), pp.217-218. On Liudprand's mission, besides the literature cited *supra*, n.1, see M.Lintzel, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, ii, pp.370-384, J.N.Sutherland, 'The Mission to Constantinople in 968' (as in n.22) and P.Lamma, 'Il problema dei due imperi e dell'Italia meridionale nel giudizio delle fonti letterarie dei secoli IX e X', *Atti del 3° Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo, Centro Italiano di Studi sull' Alto Medioevo* (Spoleto, 1959), esp. pp.229-246.

42. For Liudprand's chrysobull see *Legatio*, c.56, ed. cit., p.206.

43. W.Ohnsorge, 'Die Anerkennung des Kaisertums Ottos I. durch Byzanz', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 54 (1961), pp.28-52 and esp. pp.29-32 and in

believe, as some scholars suggest, that the bishop of Cremona lacked all diplomatic skills.⁴⁴ We don't know. Diplomacy is only the setting, not the substance of the *Legatio*. It does not tell us what Liudprand could or could not offer. Occasionally the text allows us to see that what the bishop of Cremona purported to say and what he did say, differed. This is particularly the case after the arrival of Pope John XIII's letters and envoys where the *imperator Graecorum* title gave of course deep offence. Liudprand withdrew here at once and did his best to pacify the Greeks by promising the correct address next time: 'Romanorum imperatores et Augusti'.⁴⁵

The *Legatio* is clearly a call to war and offers the justification for such a war with a call to judgement on Nicephorus and his patriarch. It sought to win over opinion for more hostilities in Liudprand's own ambience, the Italian great and their *familiares*. They were to be informed, disillusioned and re-educated about the Greeks. The libel set the tone for Otto I's military operations of 969 which at Bovino suffered a bad setback with the capture of Count Pandulf of Capua, his chief ally, and later, at Ascoli, achieved a brutal success.⁴⁶ In the *Legatio* Liudprand tendered advice to the two Ottos which reflects the momentarily close relations with Pope John XIII. When he addressed them as *imperatores Romanorum* however, we know that Otto I, in his diplomata, remained firmly 'imperator augustus' and no more. He treated this advice and its manifestations with reserve. The murder of Nicephorus in December 969 and the accession of John Tzimisces did his work for him shortly afterwards. So much for the course of events.

The most arresting feature of Liudprand's vision of Constantinople and the imperial court in the *Legatio*, that which strikes us most

W. Ohnsorge, *Konstantinopel und der Okzident* (Darmstadt, 1966), pp.176-207 and esp. pp.178-181.

44. e.g. Rentschler, *Liudprand von Cremona* (as in n.1), p.56.

45. *Legatio*, cc.47,51,53, pp.200f., 202-203.

46. On the 969 campaign in Southern Italy see Köpke, Dümmler, *Kaiser Otto der Grosse*, pp.460-465, 468f. and see also Vera von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert*, *Schriften zur Geistesgeschichte des Östlichen Europa*, 1 (Wiesbaden, 1967), pp.47-51, 83.

and must have struck his contemporary audience at once were the details, the minute observations, comments and outbursts. Liudprand was a glutton for the taste, the feel and the smell of everything he came across in Constantinople and he succeeded in conveying this to his readers. The food, the sauces, the wine, the clothes worn at processions, the Greeks' headgear, all these received the closest attention in the *Legatio*, much more still than they had done in the *Antapodosis*.⁴⁷ They do not all carry the allegorical overtones of the wild asses he saw in Nicephorus's parks. What were Liudprand's purposes? Why does he tell us so much about these things, grateful though we are to possess them? Travellers books were rare in the Latin West of the tenth century, much rarer than among the Arabs. We have the Alfredian reports of Ohthere's and Wulfstan's journeys added to the Orosius translation and we have again that other *Legatio* of the tenth century already discussed here, the last 22 chapters of the *Life of John of Gorze*.⁴⁸ We should be doing an injustice to the *legatio*-part of the *Vita Iohannis* if we failed to see it as the splendid source it is for the Verdun slave trade, the routes it used, the entry formalities at the frontier between Christian and Moslem Spain between Barcelona and Tortosa. Despite the deliberate austerity of the text, it does in the end devote a paragraph to the *apparatus* of the solemn, formal reception which echoes Arab accounts of the arrival of an embassy sent by Constantine Porphyrogenitus: the files of soldiers lining the route, both foot and horse, the mock combats staged by various bodies of troops all of different armament, men on mules and Moors who were posted

47. Th. Weber, 'Essen und Trinken in Konstantinopel des 10. Jahrhunderts nach den Berichten Liudprands von Cremona', in J.Koder-Th. Weber, *Liudprand von Cremona in Konstantinopel*, pp.73-99.

48. For these travel reports see *The Old English Orosius*, ed. J.Bately, *Early English Text Society*, Supplementary Series, 6 (London, 1980), pp.lxxif., 13-18 and *Anglo-Saxon Prose*, Edited and translated by M.Swanton (London, Melbourne and Toronto, 1975), pp.32-37.

there to frighten the ambassadors and apparently did, the precious carpets and hangings, all these descriptions are not so unlike the scenes narrated by Liudprand; at least the genres are comparable.⁴⁹

For Constantinople, however, Liudprand seems to stand on his own. His *Legatio* as a polemic has none of the solemnity of the great ninth-century controversy between the emperors Louis II and Basil I enshrined in Louis's letter of 871 with its hard-strained arguments to justify the Carolingian *imperiale nomen*.⁵⁰ These problems were there in 968 but they do not hold the centre of the stage in Liudprand's harangue and not even the fluctuating allegiances of the South Italian Lombard princes seem to dominate the exchanges between Nicephorus and Otto's envoy all the time.⁵¹

Liudprand's techniques in denigration here deserve some attention. You may recall his slighting remarks about the old and torn clothes worn by many of the *optimates* in Nicephorus's Whitsun procession from the Palace to Hagia Sophia. He wrote that they must have had these clothes from their great grandfathers and even then they were not new.⁵² The rhetorical exaggeration is brilliant. Now the Byzantine aristocracy was fluid enough, there were plenty of *novi homines* and *arrivistes*. For a Byzantine noble it may well have been a cause of honour and pride to be seen wearing now and

49. *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis*, cc.117,118, pp.370-371 for John's journey, cc.132,133, pp.375-376 for the reception by the Caliph. The embassy sent by Constantine VII to Cordoba is described in Lévi-Provencal, *Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane* II, pp.151-153 and see A.A.Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, II,1, *La Dynastie Macédonienne* (867-959), édition française préparée par M.Canard, *Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae*, 2,1 (Brussels, 1960), pp.323-331 and 2,2 (Brussels, 1950), pp.276-281, a translation of the text of Maqqari, citing Ibn Hayyan.

50. Louis II's letter, ed. W.Henze is in *MGH, Epistolarum Tomus VII* (Berlin, 1928), pp.385-394 and discussed by F.Dölger, 'Europas Gestaltung im Spiegel der fränkisch-byzantinischen Auseinandersetzung des 9. Jahrhunderts', in F.Dölger, *Byzanz und die Europäische Staatenwelt* (Darmstadt, 1964), pp.311ff., 336ff. and by W.Ohnsorge, 'Die Entwicklung der Kaiseridee im 9. Jahrhundert und Süditalien', in his *Abendland und Byzanz* (Darmstadt, 1958), pp.219-226 and Ohnsorge, *Das Zweikaiserproblem im früheren Mittelalter* (Hildesheim, 1947), pp.40-45, also Lamma, *op. cit.*, n.41, pp.181ff.

51. They are however one of the *Legatio*'s most persistent themes as Lamma, *op. cit.*, n.41, has shown.

52. *Legatio*, c.9, p.181.

again an ancestral garb at these festive functions. It could even be a demonstration of opposition. New robes and court dress were distributed lavishly every year as Liudprand himself has described in *Antapodosis* so that the wearing of old clothes must have been deliberate. Liudprand may have known this too but chose to ignore it in order to gain his effect and depict the grand ceremonial as a threadbare occasion. Here not only Nicephorus but the whole of his court, his *optimates*, were being slated.

To find out what Liudprand intended we must in fact consult another text, only to discover to our surprise that the Bishop of Cremona did not stand alone, that he followed in fact, one could almost say, a tradition. Some of the things he tells us had been told before and seen together they reveal which features of the Byzantine polity, which rituals and procedures struck Western observers, mainly ambassadors, most and clashed most severely with their own ruling habitat. To the best of my knowledge Byzantinists have not used the incidents in Notker of St. Gallen's *Gesta Karoli* very much, above all systematically, though stray references have been made here and there to compare them with Liudprand's *Legatio*.⁵³

Notker wrote his *Gesta Karoli* in the 880ies nearer the end rather than the beginning of the reign of the unfortunate Charles III who had encouraged him to set down his tales. Notker's source for Charlemagne's embassies and wars must have been Adalbert, the father of one of his fellow-monks and his *nutritor*, a great warrior-noble with much experience. We can thus locate the Frankish lay circles who possessed some knowledge of the Eastern Empire and its court. The first surprising discovery the Byzantinist makes when looking at Notker, is one about communications. He furnishes clear evidence that the land-route between Byzantium and the East-

53. *Notkeri Balbuli Gesta Karoli Magni Imperatoris*, ed. H.F.Haeferle, MGH, SRG (Berlin, 1959). They have been referred to by Weber (cf. *supra* n.47), p.89 and n.90 and by Becker in his edition of the *Legatio*, c.63, p.210, n.3. On the *Gesta Karoli* see H.Löwe, 'Das Karlsbuch Notkers von St. Gallen und sein zeitgeschichtlicher Hintergrund', in H.Löwe, *Von Cassiodor zu Dante, Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Geschichtsschreibung und politischen Ideenwelt des Mittelalters*, pp.123ff. and J.M.Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983), pp.333ff.

Frankish Kingdom was open and passable. Notker credited Charlemagne with having opened the route by victories over Slavs, Avars and Bulgars.⁵⁴ From what he said it can be deduced that the overland journey in the later ninth century, until the Magyars came, was possible and by no means unusual. The real reasons for this were the temporary pacification of the Bulgars and the rise of the Grand-Moravian principality, perhaps also the great, competitive, missionary enterprises from Byzantium, Rome and East Francia in this region.

One parallel to Liudprand offers itself readily in the *Gesta*. You will recall (*Legatio* , c.63) his bitter words about Greek bishops when, on his way back, he had a poor reception from the one in Leucas. He had not found a single hospitable bishop in all Greece, he complained.⁵⁵ There is a story to match this in the *Gesta* (ii,6). A Carolingian embassy to Byzantium arrived in the autumn and Charles's *legatus* was made to stay with a bishop who imposed a regime of dearth and abstinence and was much given to fasting and prayer. Next spring he presented his charge to the *basileus*, here called *rex*. The emperor asked him how he found the bishop and the envoy replied: he, your bishop, is a most holy man in as far as it is possible to be so without God. The emperor was naturally shocked and asked how could anyone be holy without God. The envoy is made to reply: 'Scriptum est Deus caritas est', of which he has none.⁵⁶

It seems to have been frequent Greek practice to break up the cohesion of foreign embassies by separating their members from one another. It is vouched for in Menander Protector and Liudprand mentions it too.⁵⁷ For instance at his first dinner at Nicephorus's

54. *Gesta Karoli*, i,27, p.37f.

55. *Legatio*, c.63, pp.210-211.

56. *Gesta Karoli*, ii, c.6, p.53.

57. *Excerpta de legationibus gentium e Menandro*, 6, in *Excerpta de Legationibus*, i, ed. C. de Boor (Berlin, 1903), p.447f. The separation of foreign emissaries from one another was not invariable Byzantine custom, e.g. *Antapodosis*, vi,7, p.156 (see *supra* n.13) when Liudprand and his following were, it seems, all invited together to the imperial banquet but it could be, and often was used to disconcert them.

table where he complains at being seated only fifteenth, his *comites*, he writes, were not even allowed to dine in the same building.⁵⁸ At most of his interviews, it appears, his *leones*, his military [and clerical] following, were left behind in his quarters. Exactly the same practice is hinted at in the *Gesta Karoli* (II,6) where the various members of Charlemagne's mission were divided from one another.⁵⁹ We must understand how disconcerting this was to Westerners. Their entire lives were lived in *Hausgenossenschaft* and *familiaritas*, the close association of kinsmen, followers and servants under the same roof. This is no less true of a bishop than a layman and some of Liudprand's irritation, even some of his *gaffes* might be explained by his being unable to consult his following, and from finding himself isolated from his *leones* as he called them. Confronted by the unexpected the Latins sought shelter by going into a huddle.

Yet by far the most important and profound difference of political styles between East and West, also Cordoba and the West, lay in the all-embracing ritual and formality, the elaboration and matchless ubiquity of Byzantine court ceremonial.⁶⁰ It is not that the Carolingian and Ottonian courts knew no ritual, solemnities and formalities but they were intermittent and punctuated a routine of close companionship and *familiaritas*. It would also be mistaken to think that this western ritual only embraced crown-wearings. A

58. For Liudprand's isolation from his staff and following see *Legatio*, c.11, p.181. Elsewhere he speaks usually in the first person, e.g. cc.15, p.183,19, p.185,21, p.186f., 25-29, pp.188-190. The plural 'invitaremur' (c.19, p.185) refers to Liudprand and the Bulgarian envoys. Altogether Liudprand had 25 men in his company (c.34, p.193), including five knights (c.24, p.188) and four Greek guards had been attached to him (c.34, p.193).

59. *Gesta Karoli*, ii, c.6, pp.53,55.

60. On Byzantine court ceremonial and its expressive range see above all O.Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell* (Jena, 1938 and Darmstadt, 1969), pp.1-6 and pp.197-202, on receptions. See also the editor, A.Vogt's introductory remarks to *Constantin VII Porphyrogénète le Livre des Cérémonies, Commentaire*, I, *Collection Byzantine* (Paris, 1935), pp.xviii-xxxi. Ceremonial are also the purposes and setting of the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, ed. J.B.Bury in his *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century*, *The British Academy Supplemental Papers*, I (1911) and reprinted (New York, no date).

careful reading of e.g. Ermoldus Nigellus suggests that there was more. But the Ottonian court and society developed such occasions only slowly and they rejected Otto III's attempts to innovate here.⁶¹

Liudprand of course knew of this profound difference and was prepared for it as he prides himself in the *Antapodosis*. Not for him to be surprised by the artificial singing birds in the tree, the mechanical roar of the lions, the sudden elevation of the *basileus* at the reception audience.⁶² Yet the helplessness of the Latins faced by this unremitting ceremonial is well exposed in a tale of the *Gesta Karoli* where an attempt is made to ape and so ridicule Byzantine procedures. Notker seems to allude to a traceable embassy of Charlemagne's, that of Bishop Heito of Basle and Count Hugh of Tours in 811. Once again they were dragged hither and thither, ill-treated and 'per diversissima loca divisi'. On their return they persuaded Charlemagne to make an example of the Byzantine counter-embassy, to make their journey unpleasant for them and their arrival even more so. The latter took the form of taking the Greeks from one Carolingian household officer to the next: first the Constable, then the Count-Palatine, then the Butler (*magister mensae*) and finally the Chamberlain. Each of these officers is represented as sitting in dignity surrounded by his attendants and minions and each time the envoys mistook him for Charlemagne himself only to be abused by their guides and pushed on. When they

61. Ermold le Noir, *Poème sur Louis le Pieux*, ed. E. Faral, *Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1964), 1.684 (p.54): 'Hic cadit ante pedes, vestigia basiat alma', Einhard before Charlemagne in 813 and cf. II.173 (p.18), 213 (p.20), 582 (p.46). Solemnities of the court, processions and well-ordered meals played their part in the baptism of King Heriold and his Danes in 826. See Ermold, *Poème*, pp.166ff. Otto III's attempts to manifest his kingship in new ways and so change its character e.g. by dining alone and creating a new palace hierarchy were widely criticized. See Thietmar of Merseburg's *Chronicon*, iv,47, ed. R. Holtzmann, *MGH, SRG*, nova series, ix (Berlin, 1955), p.184f. For other sources and comment see P.E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio*, 2nd ed. (Darmstadt, 1957), p.148 and n.2, Leyser, 'The Tenth Century in Byzantine-Western Relationships' (as in n.19), p.44 or *Medieval Germany*, p.118 and Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society* (London, 1979), p.103 and n.29.

62. *Antapodosis*, vi,5, p.155: 'nulla admiratione commotus, quoniam quidem ex his omnibus eos qui bene noverant fueram percontatus'.

finally came to Charlemagne he is characteristically shown standing at a window surrounded by his family rather than alone on a throne.⁶³ This by no means exhausts the parallels to Liudprand in Notker. Even the notorious fish-sauce, the fish dipped in *pigmenta* is there.⁶⁴ Throughout the West the Greeks were reputed to be cunning and astute. In the *Gesta Karoli* the Carolingian envoy is made to outwit them. In Widukind of Corvey they won their victory at Bovino by trickery.⁶⁵ Liudprand is anxious to convince his Italian audience that they were a match for the Byzantines in war, no less than in other dealings.

What conclusions can be drawn from these analogies between the *Legatio* and the stories of the *Gesta*? It would be rash to say that all Western envoys nursed the sentiments we encounter in these two so different works. Greek court ceremonial must not be thought of as wholly inflexible, unbending and rigid. If the Greeks wanted to they could charm and flatter their foreign visitors as they did Liudprand himself in 949. The *Legatio* was, even more than the *Historia Ottonis* a *livre d'occasion* which by itself left no trace and had no known literary afterlife, unlike the *Antapodosis*. It is a text we possess precariously, one of several medieval transmissions resting on no surviving manuscript whatsoever. All the same the sentiments of the *Legatio* had a deep resonance and audible echoes. It is possible that Bishop Dietrich of Metz, a nephew of Queen Mathilda and cousin to Otto I, possessed a copy and we know of his deep indignation with the Empress Theophano from Alpert of Metz's *Fragment*.⁶⁶

63. *Gesta Karoli*, ii,6, pp.55-57.

64. *Ibid.*, p.54: 'piscis fluvialis et pigmentis infusus'.

65. *Ibid.*, p.54f. and Widukind, *Res Gestae Saxonicae*, iii,71, p.148.

66. Alpertus Mettensis, *Fragmentum de Deoderico primo episcopo Mettensi*, cc.2,4, ed. H. van Rij and A.S.Abulafia, *Alpertus van Metz* (Amsterdam, 1980), pp.110,114. The *Legatio* was first edited by H.Canisius, professor of civil and canon law at Ingolstadt. His manuscript was sent to him from Augsburg but it had lain at Trier. H.Pertz thought that perhaps the Ottos themselves or the Empress Adelheid had sent it there (*MGH*, SS, III, pp.269,273). What happened to this codex is not known. Canisius's edition is entitled thus: *Chronicon Victoris Episcopi Tunnunensis, Chronicon Ioannis Biclarenensis, Episcopi Gerundensis, Legatio Liutprandi Episcopi Cremonensis, ad Nicephorum*

Liudprand in the *Antapodosis*, we have said, became the spokesman of Christianity's hardening attitudes towards Islam, one of the first signs of an incipient counter-offensive. The *Legatio* too marks a divide. As late as 962 Constantinople was almost the centre of gravity of Liudprand's Christian world. It had been that for the Pavese hitherto. In the *Legatio* this centre has shifted to Rome and the itinerant Ottonian court. It was not to move again for three hundred years. Among the makers of Latin Europe Liudprand holds an important place. He was indeed one of the architects of a new, self-centred polarity in the Latin West. It did not rule out gusts of benevolence towards the Greeks and their Church but the matter-of-fact, unquestioned solidarity we meet in the *Antapodosis* was now, only six years later, a thing of the past. Efforts, selfconscious efforts, had to be made and sometimes were made to try and regain it, most of them in vain. In the wake of Ottonian policy, as the likely participant in yet another diplomatic mission to Constantinople, Liudprand may not have wished the *Legatio* to be his last word but it became just that. He chose to rouse self-awareness not by pointing to mounting political and religious differences but by dwelling on everyday *habitus* and ingrained responses and whether he knew it or not, his means for all their ease, matched his ends at a much deeper level.

Phocam... Synodus Bugarica sub Tassilone Bavariae Duce Tempore Caroli Magni, Omnia Nunc primum in lucem edita Studio et Opera Henrici Canisii Noviomagi I C et SS Canonum Professoris Ordinarii in Academia Ingolstadiensi (Ingolstadii, 1600).

V

THE GREGORIAN PAPACY, BYZANTIUM, AND THE FIRST CRUSADE

H.E.J. COWDREY / OXFORD

'I will bring you the opinion of three of the famousest men for wit and learning, that *Italy* at this day glories of, whereby it may be concluded for a receiv'd opinion even among men professing the Romish Faith, that *Constantine* marr'd all in the Church.' Thus wrote John Milton. First he called Dante to witness:

*'Ah Constantine, of how much ill was cause
Not thy Conversion, but those rich demaines
That the first wealthy Pope receiv'd of thee.'*

Then, for his other 'famousest men', he moved ahead to Petrarch and Ariosto.¹ If he had been willing to venture outside Italy, he might also have worked back to St. Bernard's *De consideratione* for the view that, even by their best work, the early emperors on the Bosphorus had begun to mar all in the church. 'Forsooth', Bernard wrote to Pope Eugenius III, 'laws daily resound in the Lateran palace – but laws of Justinian, not laws of Christ'; and in the trappings of papal power Eugenius was 'the successor, not of Peter, but of Constantine'.² From Bernard's time the supposedly bad effects of the East and its institutions upon the church and the papacy tended to elicit such unfavourable comment.

But not, I think, from before it; the middle decades of the twelfth century, when the distinction between *regalia* and the spiritual aspects of office became familiar, marked a change. Under the reform papacy after the Emperor Henry III's Roman expedition of

1. *Of Reformation in England*, in *The Works of John Milton*, iii, 1 (New York, 1931), pp.26-7.

2. i,4,5, iv,3,6, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, iii *Tractatus et opuscula*, ed. J.Leclercq and H.M.Rochais (Rome, 1963), pp.399, 453.

1046, there had been less prejudice in Western minds. With exceptions like Cardinal Humbert's intemperate behaviour at Constantinople in 1054, Westerners were prepared to take Eastern men and institutions much as they found them; where agreement was not possible, they sought accommodation. In this paper I want to identify two of the many considerations that help to clarify Western thinking about Byzantium in the twenty-five years or so before the First Crusade of 1095. Then, in the light of them, I shall venture a few comments on the three popes – Gregory VII (1073-85), Victor III (1086-7), and Urban II (1088-99), who reigned then, in so far as their pontificates bear upon the Eastern churches and the First Crusade.

'Constantine marred all the church.' My first consideration concerns how relatively favourably, on the eve of the Crusade, the West regarded the Byzantine Empire and especially its emperors. We may start with Constantine. One cannot too strongly insist that the eleventh-century estimate of him as the emperor who removed the centre of imperial power to the Bosphorus and who endowed the papacy with Old Rome as a basis for its spiritual authority, was the reverse of what Milton seized upon in Dante. Thus, for the staunchly Gregorian propagandist Bonizo of Sutri writing just after Gregory VII's death, the *pii Constantini tempora* – the days of the godly Constantine – were wholly good for the church – even though after his reign the benefits soon became clouded. Constantine gave the church peace, and he gave it freedom. He was the founder of the kindly city of New Rome – *almae novae Romae fundator*; at the council of Nicaea he knew his place, sitting at the bishop's feet.³ Pope Leo IX – no less –, writing in 1054 to the *gloriosus et religiosus imperator* Constantine IX Monomachus, hailed him as 'in origin, name, and lordship the great successor of great Constantine', exhorting him to imitate his namesake's devotion to the apostolic see.⁴ And for Gregory VII himself, it was Constantine who had freed the church from the persecutions to which pagan emperors

3. *Liber ad amicum*, cc. i-ii, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH, Libelli de lite*, i, pp. 572-74.

4. C. Will, *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis ecclesiae Graecae et Latinae saeculo undecimo composita erant* (Leipzig-Marburg, 1861), pp. 85-89, no. 3, at pp. 85, 88.

subjected it, because they were under the sway of Antichrist.⁵ Bonizo of Sutri despaired of the elder Rome and of a Roman Empire in the West that was in thrall to the insolence of its kings and the pride of its subjects. He was, indeed, not sure that, in the East, the guilt of emperors and priests made what he called the *nove Rome imperium, Constantinopolitanum videlicet*, much better. Yet at least it was St. Paul's ὁ κατέχων: it held the barbarians in check; to that extent it was the truer successor to the emperors of old.⁶

Constantine's eleventh-century reputation depended partly upon the good effects that the so-called *Constitutum Constantini* – the 'Donation of Constantine' as it was coming to be called, which Dante deprecated, – was believed to have produced by leaving Old Rome to the popes and by investing them with the insignia of quasi-imperial authority.⁷ Now, the 'Donation' was widely diffused, especially through the Pseudo-Isidorian Decrees where in the chapter *De primitiva ecclesia* that introduced it, men might read the praises of the donor, *vir religiosissimus Constantinus primus*.⁸ Yet, with a very few exceptions like Pope Leo IX's letter of 1053 to the Patriarch Michael Cerularius,⁹ it was seldom expressly cited, even in later eleventh-century papal or papalist sources: Bonizo of Sutri, for instance, nowhere referred to it. And so while it made men in general applaud Constantine, it did not lead to criticism of contemporary Eastern emperors upon such grounds as their continuing authority over the church, nor did anyone press the point that their use of imperial insignia contradicted its dispositions. In his *Dictatus papae* of 1075 Gregory VII might assert that the pope alone had the right to employ imperial insignia.¹⁰ But, as we shall see, he

5. Reg. 9,37, in *Gregorii VII Registrum*, ed. E.Caspar, MGH, *Epistolae selectae* (Berlin, 1920-23), p.631; *The Epistolae vagantes of Pope Gregory VII*, ed. H.E.J.Cowdrey (Oxford, 1972), pp.132-34, no.54.

6. Bonizo, *Liber de vita christiana*, vii, 1, ed. E.Perels, *Texte zur Geschichte des römischen und kanonischen Rechts im Mittelalter*, i (Berlin, 1930), p.233, citing 2 Thess. 2: 7.

7. *Constitutum Constantini*, ed. H.Fuhrmann, MGH, *Fontes iuris Germanici antiqui*, x (Hanover, 1968).

8. *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni*, ed. P.Hinschius (Leipzig, 1863), pp.247-49.

9. Will, *Acta et scripta*, pp.65-85, no.2, at pp.72-4.

10. Reg. 2, 55a, cap. 8, p.204.

was later to refer to an Eastern emperor as *gloriosissimus* and as being at the *culmen imperialis excellentiae*.¹¹ The figure of Constantine – for Gregory *imperator piae memoriae* – still set the Eastern emperor in a favourable light. As for the patriarchs of Constantinople, after Michael Cerularius' fall from power the popes seem to have ignored them and approached only the emperors.

The limited awareness of the 'Donation of Constantine' is only one example of the underdeveloped state of themes that later were to set the Empires of East and West in sharper contrast. Another is the notion of a *translatio imperii* – that in the year 800 the Empire was transferred from the Greeks to the Franks, from whom in due course it devolved upon the Germans. In its papal form this notion was confidently enunciated in 1202 by Pope Innocent III in his letter *Venerabilem fratrem*: in the person of the illustrious Charles (he wrote) the apostolic see by legal right transferred the Roman Empire from the Greeks to the Germans.¹² But Goetz has shown that, as a mature statement, the papal form of the *translatio imperii* emerged only after the Investiture Contest.¹³ There was also an imperial form, which Otto of Freising embodied in the catalogue of popes and emperors at the end of Book VII of his Chronicle. Its antecedents were older than those of Innocent III's papal form. They are especially to be sought in the world chronicles that multiplied in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. For Marianus Scottus in his cell at Mainz, the Romans acclaimed Charlemagne as *augustus*; Marianus placed the Salians up to Henry IV in the succession of Roman emperors. Frutolf of Michaelsberg

11. See *infra* p.157.

12. PL, ccxvi, col.1065C; *Regestum Innocentii III papae super negotio Romani imperii*, no.62, ed. F.Kempf, *Miscellanea historiae pontificiae*, xxii (Rome, 1947), pp.168-69.

13. W.Goetz, *Translatio imperii. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Geschichtsdenkens und der politischen Theorien im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* (Tübingen, 1958). For Western ideas of the Empire, see also E.Müller-Mertens, *Regnum teutonicorum. Aufkommen der deutschen Reichs- und Königsauffassung im frühen Mittelalter* (Vienna-Cologne-Graz, 1970); A.-D. von den Brincken, *Die 'nationes Christianorum orientalium' im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie, Kölner historische Abhandlungen*, xxii (Cologne-Vienna, 1973).

similarly saw Henry IV as successor to Augustus. For Sigebert of Gembloux the year 800 saw the separation of the *Constantinopolitanum regnum* from the *regnum Romanorum* and the emergence of a *regnum Francorum et Romanorum*. The Ottonians and the Salians were rulers of this *regnum*; as such Henry III, Henry IV, and Henry V were called *imperator* even before their imperial coronation.¹⁴ From about 1100 men began to describe the events of the year 800 as a *translatio imperii*.

But this imperial form of the notion took shape north of the Alps, and in circles that were anti-Gregorian or at least non-Gregorian. Even if they knew of it, the Gregorians, especially at Rome, had no interest to foster or even to countenance it; it offered too much to their Salian adversaries. On the contrary: it was polemically convenient for a writer like Bonizo of Sutri to see the Byzantine emperors as, for all their faults, the truer successors to the Caesars. More typically, especially in Italy, instead of canvassing the still somewhat unformed idea of a *translatio imperii*, men thought in terms of a *renovatio Romani imperii*. Goetz was surely right to suggest that, from Otto I's imperial coronation in 962 until well into the second half of the eleventh century, the idea of *renovatio* – of renewal – was in the foreground; only in the twelfth century did it take second place to that of *translatio*.¹⁵

And so – as my last allusion to Bonizo of Sutri illustrates – until the end of the eleventh century Gregorian attitudes to the Byzantine Empire could remain flexible and accommodating. For once the theory of a *translatio imperii* had hardened, it would commit men to a continuing, unilinear imperial order in which changes took place at particular junctures like the years 800 and 962; it left no clear place for emperors of both East and West. It gave rise to an

14. Otto of Freising, *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. A. Hofmeister and W. Lammers, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, xvi (Darmstadt, 1961), pp. 568-81; Marianus Scottus, *Chronicon*, a. 823, 1046-78, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH, SS*, v, pp. 549, 556-58; Frutolf of Michaelsberg, *Frutolfi et Ekkehardi Chronica necnon Anonymi Chronica imperatorum*, ed. F.-J. Schmale and I. Schmale-Ott, *Ausgewählte Quellen*, xv (Darmstadt, 1972), p. 72; Sigebert of Gembloux, *Chronica*, a. 801, 937-1111, ed. L. C. Bethmann, *MGH, SS*, vi, pp. 336, 348-74.

15. *Translatio imperii*, pp. 83-84.

acute *Zweikaiserproblem* – a problem of whether and how there could be two emperors.¹⁶ But a *renovatio imperii* left room for a renewal of the late-antique order after a long gap; and renewal could occur locally, even at various places. A *renovatio*, moreover, might look back to the pre-Diocletianic constitution, under which the *orbis terrarum* was ruled from Rome; or it might – instead or as well – draw inspiration from the post-Diocletianic possibility of there being more emperors than one. *Translatio* implied a unitary concept; but for those who canvassed *renovatio* the difficulty of contemplating emperors of both East and West was mitigated – if, indeed, there was a difficulty at all.

And for the late eleventh-century popes, I doubt whether there was. After all, in the West that they knew there often was no emperor, in the sense of a ruler bearing that title because he had been papally crowned at Rome. Before 800 there was none, and 962 was also a new beginning. Henry II had become *rex* in 1002 but *imperator* only in 1014, after twelve years. In Conrad II's case there was a gap of three years (1024 to 1027); but Henry III, *rex* in 1039, became *imperator* in 1046 after a seven-year gap. Henry IV, who succeeded in 1056, received imperial coronation only in 1084 and then from an antipope. The contrast between the discontinuous emperors of the West and the Empire of the East continuous since Constantine, the precedent of the pious Emperor Constantine himself, and the openness of the idea of *renovatio*, left scope for the late eleventh-century popes to take the emperors of the East much as they found them, or as they wished to regard them. So my first consideration is that they were surprisingly little encumbered by presuppositions that made overtures to and collaboration with the East at all difficult.

There is nothing very original in suggesting that. My second consideration is a less discussed one. It concerns the change that took place after about 1100 in what Western Christians meant when they spoke of the Eastern church or the Eastern churches. St.

16. W. Ohnsorge, *Das Zweikaiserproblem im früheren Mittelalter. Die Bedeutung des byzantinischen Reiches für die Entwicklung der Staatsidee in Europa* (Hildesheim, 1947).

Bernard once more illustrates the twelfth-century development. In 1150, after the catastrophe of the Second Crusade, he wrote a letter to Pope Eugenius III urging him to draw both swords in defence of the Eastern church – *in defensionem orientalis ecclesiae*.¹⁷ By this phrase he above all meant the organized church, Latin in rite and doctrine, papal in obedience, that had come into being in Syria and Palestine as a result of the First Crusade. It stood in contrast to the Byzantine church and the other communions of the East, which by the time of the Second Crusade the Latins mostly saw as alien. Odo of Deuil, for example, made that clear in his chronicle of King Louis VII's journey to the East. He referred to the Greeks' practice of rebaptizing Latins, and to their heresies about the celebration of the Eucharist and the procession of the Holy Spirit: because of them, he wrote, 'they were judged [by the Crusaders] not to be Christians, and the Franks considered killing them a matter of no importance'.¹⁸

Until the Crusaders had set up an organized Latin church in the East, it all looked very different. The Eastern church was, primarily, the Byzantine church or the *ecclesia Constantinopolitana* as the common phrase went, and churches in communion with it; the Eastern churches included the other ancient churches like the Armenians. Whatever the differences of rite and doctrine, they were still the complement and counterpart of the Western church, not its antithesis. This was especially so for the popes. In Gregory VII's eyes, the Eastern churches were pre-eminently represented by the church of Constantinople – the *ecclesia Constantinopolitana*, which was related to the Roman church as daughter to mother; if in a depressed personal letter he could write of its lapse from the Catholic faith, he could also envisage that by divine grace its tribulations would soon bring it to repentance.¹⁹ For Urban II, the

17. Ep. 256, 2, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, viii, *Epistolae*, ed. J. Leclercq and H.M. Rochais (Rome, 1977), p.164; cf. Ep.370, p.344.

18. Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, iii, ed. V.G. Berry (New York, 1948), pp.54-57. But for a favourable view, see *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. G. Constable, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), i, 209-10, no.76 (1122/43).

19. Reg. 1.18, 2.49, pp.29, 189.

knights who went on the First Crusade to aid the Asian church and to liberate their brothers from Saracen tyranny were engaged in a work that was the counterpart of the Christian Reconquest in Spain. Late in 1095 he told the Flemings that at Clermont he had summoned Christians for the liberation of the Eastern churches. When his successor Paschal II heard that Jerusalem was captured, he rejoiced 'because after its long captivity we see the Eastern church for the most part restored to the glory of its ancient liberty'.²⁰

In the twelfth century, many things contributed to the alienation of Latins and Byzantines. Not the least important was the change in Western habits of thought whereby the Eastern church in the traditional sense of the term came to be disparaged, while, once it was Latinized, the church of Jerusalem – its 'firstborn and special daughter', as Jacques de Vitry called it²¹ – tended to replace it in men's minds as the true *orientalis ecclesia*. My second consideration is that, before the First Crusade, this change had not yet begun.

It is time to turn to our three popes, and first to Gregory VII.²²

20. P.F.Kehr, *Papsturkunden in Spanien, i Katalanien, Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, ph.-hist. Kl., xviii (Berlin, 1926), pp.287-88, H.Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100* (Innsbruck, 1901), pp.136-37. no.2, *PL*, clxiii, col.42D; cf. his references to *mater illa nostra Orientalis ecclesia*, *PL*, clxiii, col.44AB, and Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p.175, no.19,3-4.
21. Jacques de Vitry, *Historia occidentalis*, i, in *The Historia occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. J.F.Hinnebusch, *Spicilegium Friburgense*, xvii (Fribourg, 1972), pp.73-74.
22. For the popes and the East, I have particularly used the following: W.Norden, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, (Berlin, 1903); B.Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du xie siècle* (Paris, 1924); W.Holtzmann, 'Studien zur Orientpolitik des Reformpapsttums und zur Entstehung des ersten Kreuzzuges', *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, xxii (1924), pp.167-99, and 'Unionsverhandlungen zwischen Kaiser Alexios I. und Papst Urban II. im Jahre 1089', *BZ*, xxviii (1928), pp.38-76, both repr. in *Beiträge zur Reichs- und Papstgeschichte des hohen Mittelalters, Bonner historische Forschungen*, viii (Bonn, 1957), pp.51-78, 79-105 [the reprint is here cited]; C.Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*, (Stuttgart, 1935), Eng. trans. by M.W.Baldwin and W.Goffart, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton, NJ, 1977) [the translation is here cited]; G.Hofmann, 'Papst Gregor VII. und der christliche Osten', *Studi Gregoriani*, i (1946), pp.169-81; S.Runciman, *The Eastern Schism* (Oxford, 1955).

Gregory was remarkably open and unprejudiced in his view of the Byzantine Empire and its emperors. Especially in his early years as pope he spoke of them with acceptance and even with warmth. In 1071 the Byzantine Empire had suffered the major reverses of defeat at Manzikert by the Seljuks and the loss of Bari to the Normans. So, in 1073 when he became pope, its emperor, Michael VII Ducas, needed all the help he could get. Gregory wrote to him, thanking him for letters in which he gave evidence of 'no small devotion' to the apostolic see. He greeted him as *Constantinopolitanus imperator* – a term novel in papal letters but by which he intended no slight, and expressed his greeting and apostolic blessing. In commending Patriarch Dominic of Grado as his envoy to Michael, Gregory described him as being 'most faithful to the Roman church and to your Empire', with no sense that their service might be incompatible.²³ In 1074 he described the Eastern Empire under Seljuk attack as *Christianum imperium*, and proclaimed in the West that Western Christians should lay down their lives for their brethren in the East – the *gens Christiana* who were being slaughtered like cattle.²⁴ Thus far, for Gregory relations with Byzantium were a matter of expediency – of what would help towards the rescue of the Eastern Empire in the desperate necessities of the day.

And yet not entirely so. It is commonly stated that, particularly in his early years as pope, Gregory wished to promote the 'union' of the Eastern and the Western churches. Further evidence suggests that this was indeed the case. But it is important not to read into the word 'union' the shades of meaning that would suit a twentieth-century context. Gregory's word, repeatedly used and implied, for what he sought was *concordia*. In 1073 Gregory told the Emperor Michael that 'we not only desire to renew (*innovare*) the ancient *concordia* that God ordained between the Roman church and its Constantinopolitan daughter, but also, if it may be, so far as in us lies, we desire to have peace with all men' (Gregory is citing Rom.12: 18). In 1074 he was convinced that at Constantinople, too,

23. Reg. I.18, pp.29-30.

24. Reg. I.49, pp.75-76.

men sought *concordia*: the Constantinopolitan church', he wrote, 'which differs from us about the Holy Spirit, is looking for *concordia* with the apostolic see'. His vista for union was wider still. Having observed that the Armenians almost all erred from the Catholic faith, he expressed confidence that practically everywhere the 'Easterns' were awaiting what the faith of the Apostle Peter would decide amongst their various opinions.²⁵ Gregory's intention was not a constitutional one – that separated bodies should be brought to institutional unity, but what we may best call a caritative one – that, despite differences of belief and practice, the churches should renew their pristine *concordia* and so live in mutual peace.

That Gregory was not just putting garnish upon a policy of expediency finds confirmation in his so-called 'Crusading' plans of 1074.²⁶ They were not elicited by diplomatic interchange with the Byzantine government; Gregory's correspondence of 1073 with the Emperor Michael had come to nothing. His letters show that, in the spring of 1074, he reacted to the tales of a returning Western Christian, as well to other hearsay reports of Seljuk depredations. In the autumn, he reacted to unofficial reports of Christians from Eastern parts about the peril of the Christian Empire there. In these popular reports he saw a divine challenge to action: 'In such a case, if we love God and regard ourselves as Christians', he wrote, 'great grief should seize us for the pitiful plight of so great an Empire and for such a disaster upon Christian people.'

On each occasion Gregory planned an expedition. In the spring he declared his purpose of first terrifying into obedience to righteousness (*iustitia*) the recalcitrant Normans under Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia. Then he hoped to go on and relieve Constantinople. In the event he did not get even as far as the Normans: after an abortive preliminary skirmish to the north of Rome that had little to do with his declared objectives, his army disintegrated. In the autumn he made no mention of the Normans. He aspired, as *dux et*

25. Reg. I.18, 2.31, pp.29-30, 166-67.

26. For these plans, see H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'Pope Gregory VII's 'Crusading' Plans of 1074', *Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. B.Z. Kedar, H.E. Mayer, and R.C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982), pp.27-40, repr. in *Popes, Monks and Crusaders* (London, 1984), no.X.

pontifex, to lead an expedition which should proceed under arms directly against the enemies of God – that is, the Seljuks, and which should also reach the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. Meanwhile Henry IV, whose problems in Germany made him temporarily deferential to Gregory, was to act as protector of the apostolic see. In addition to the military predicament of Eastern Christians Gregory declared his motive of promoting ecclesiastical union to which I have alluded: the Constantinopolitan church was looking for *concordia* with the apostolic see, while almost all the ‘Easterns’ were awaiting what the faith of St. Peter might decide amongst their various opinions. So far as we know, this expedition never even started; and in January 1075 Gregory was lamenting to his friend Abbot Hugh of Cluny that all his endeavours on the church’s behalf had been without avail.²⁷

Throughout these bizarre events Gregory made clear the religious construction that he put on upon events in the East. He was not moved only by expediency, for his plans arose not from exchanges with the Byzantine authorities but from the direct testimony of simple Christians. Nor did he show any awareness of past history – whether of 1054 or of the days of the Patriarch Photius or of a longer period of time. His focus was upon the direct action of both God and the devil upon the world here and now. For Gregory, every current event declared the purpose of the one or the other, and called for a decision for the one or the other. The devil was acting in two clear ways upon Eastern Christians – *fratres nostri qui ultra mare in Constantinopolitano imperio habitant*: by his own actions, he was striving to turn them from the Catholic faith; and by those of his limbs the Saracens, he was daily and cruelly slaying them like cattle. But God was acting no less directly. Gregory interpreted the *démarche* of the Emperor Michael and, still more, the testimony of simple Eastern Christians, as signs that many of them were being drawn to seek *concordia* with the apostolic see. Through their adversities they had learnt what Christ meant when he told St. Peter that his faith would not fail, and they were waiting

27. Gregory’s relevant letters are: i,46,49,72, ii,3,31,37,49, pp.69-71,75-76,103-104,128,165-68,172-73,189; *Epistolae vagantes*, pp.10-13, no.5.

to know what that faith would determine about their diverse opinions. Therefore as vicar of St. Peter Gregory himself must journey to the East and establish this *concordia*. It was for the pope to confound the devil's own actions against the Christian faith; Christian knights must confound him in his limbs the Saracens by following their Redeemer in laying down their lives for their friends.²⁸

In 1074 Gregory aspired by St. Peter's authority to mobilize the chivalry of the West for the help of Eastern Christians, who were learning by their sufferings to escape from the actions of the devil and to find peace, both earthly and spiritual, in obedience to God as mediated by the apostolic see.

By January 1075 his aspiration had been frustrated. During the next ten years, because Henry IV of Germany upon whom he had so trustingly relied was now his open adversary, he had perforce to patch up the papal alliance established in 1059 with Robert Guiscard against whom his endeavours of 1074 had been partly directed. With his second excommunication of Henry IV in 1080 and the Guibertine Schism in which Henry set up Archbishop Guibert of Ravenna as the antipope Clement III, Gregory's need of Robert Guiscard became particularly great. And from 1081 until his death in 1085 Robert Guiscard, by now an old man in a hurry, was mainly concerned to mount a military campaign against Byzantium in order to win the Empire for himself. By reaction, to threaten Robert Guiscard in Italy the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, who seized power in 1081, lent strong financial and diplomatic support to Henry IV of Germany.²⁹ This support compelled Gregory to give Robert Guiscard at least a measure of support against Alexius Comnenus. Late in 1081, after Robert Guiscard's victory over a Byzantine army at Durazzo, Gregory congratulated him, saying that he saw in his success a token of St. Peter's patronage and an earnest of greater things to come.³⁰ In the same year Gregory went

28. Esp. Reg. 2.37.

29. For the background, see H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius. Montecassino, the Papacy, and the Normans in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 129-76.

30. Reg. 9.17, 597-8.

so far as to excommunicate Alexius, in terms which, alas, do not survive.

In a magisterial comment, Norden in 1903 summed up Gregory's dealings with Byzantium as follows: 'When we put together all these occurrences, the ... Byzantine policy of later medieval popes was incapsulated in the pontificate of Gregory VII. For the exploitation of the political needs of the Greek Empire with a view to securing the peaceful subjection of Byzantium to the Roman church, and the fostering of Western attempts at conquest with a view to securing its military subjection to that church, remained the twin poles of papal policy.'³¹ In this judgement there is a generous amount of hindsight from what was to happen in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. And the more we deny ourselves such hindsight, the more restrained Gregory seems in fact to have been in countenancing the military subjection of Byzantium by a Western ruler. He gave the barest minimum of support to Robert Guiscard. When he referred to the Norman's victory at Durazzo as an earnest of greater things to come, Gregory wished their theatre to be his own struggle in Italy against Henry IV, not Robert Guiscard's in Illyria against Alexius Comnenus. Moreover, in the admittedly slender evidence that we have, Gregory held fast to the peaceful approach of his letters of 1073-4. He clung to his loyalty to the Emperor Michael VII Ducas. In 1078 he excommunicated his supplanter, Nicephorus III Botaneiates – although, despite his claim in clause XII of the *Dictatus papae* to depose emperors and despite the precedent of his deposition of Henry IV, he named no stronger sanction. In 1080 – and so, it is true, before Robert Guiscard's campaigns across the Adriatic, when Gregory believed Michael to have appeared again at Bari he ordered the South Italian bishops to join Robert Guiscard in helping Michael. He called him the most glorious Constantinopolitan emperor, who had been unjustly deposed from the *culmen imperialis excellentiae*.³² When Gregory excommunicated Alexius Comnenus, there is no reason to suppose that he did so in terms more stringent than those that he had employed in 1078. After the

31. *Das Papsttum*, pp.45-46.

32. Reg. 6.5b, 8.6, pp.400, 523-24.

battle of Durazzo we know of no further encouragement to Robert Guiscard's ambitions.

If Gregory thus far persisted in the friendly attitude to the Byzantine Empire that he had shown in his early years as pope, his dealings in June 1080 with the Armenian Patriarch Gregory II of Tzamandus, near Melitene, establish that he did not abandon his search for *concordia* with the Eastern churches, either. I would like to consider Gregory's two relevant letters in some detail, since they have not had the attention that they deserve.³³ They were prompted by the patriarch's dispatch to Rome of a priest of his named John, in order to rectify the damage done in the Latin West to the good name of Armenia by a renegade named Macharus whom Gregory himself had declared a heretic when he appeared in Rome. Macharus was now collecting large alms in South Italy by flaunting his austerities. Gregory sent a letter by John the Armenian priest to Archbishop Roffred of Benevento, instructing him to judge and punish Macharus. As for John, Gregory said that he had examined his profession of faith and found it to be quite orthodox.

John also carried a long letter from Gregory to his patriarch addressed to a 'beloved brother in Christ'. Gregory made clear his desire to take his approval further than his merely *ad hominem* acceptance of John's profession, and explained how he might be led to do so. He began by declaring what dispositions were proper in himself as pope, since his station was in the watch-tower of the highest see and his care was for the whole church: they were vehement grief over those who separated themselves from the body of Christ, but exultation in saving harmony and joy unspeakable with those of a right mind in religion who maintained the unity of faith. Gregory could not immediately view the church of the Armenians with either of these dispositions. For in the past he had been told – and he grieved for it with fatherly compassion – that in some misguided respects it deviated from the faith of the universal church. He named the unmixed chalice, the use of butter not balsam in preparing chrism, and the venerating of Dioscorus of

33. Reg. 7.28, 8.1, pp.509-14. For the patriarch, see Hofmann, 'Papst Gregor VII.', p.173.

Alexandria – a heresiarch condemned by the council of Chalcedon. But now, the priest John had denied these alleged deviations. Gregory asked the patriarch to send John, or another representative, back to him with his own written comments, together with a declaration that together with the universal church he confessed the faith of the first four ecumenical councils. To reinforce his plea, Gregory cited at length Pope Gregory I's commitment to this faith, in which the fifth ecumenical council was also referred to. It is a key demonstration of Gregory VII's own rule of faith: nowhere else did he so fully indicate the foundation upon which he thought the consent of the churches should rest.

Gregory also hinted that he would not wish to press too rigorously any difficulties of a dogmatic nature. He expressed concern at the Armenians' adding the clause 'Qui crucifixus es pro nobis' to the chant 'Sanctus Deus, sanctus fortis'. But he did not challenge it on grounds of monophysite implications: he merely asked the Armenians to omit it from St. Paul's charitable motive, that one should avoid giving scandal to others in a matter indifferent to oneself, but to them one of faith (Rom. 14: 19-23). Finally he alluded favourably to the Armenians' liturgical use of unleavened bread, deprecating the ignorant Greeks' attack upon them; such *temeritas* (he declared) must be unmasked and condemned. He pointed out that the Greeks directed similar attacks against the Roman church: 'they commend their leavened bread', he wrote, 'by never ceasing stubbornly to hurl at us their paltry words of censure'. Then he added one of the most surprising sentences in his letters: 'While we defend our unleavened bread with arguments irresistible before God, we do not condemn or reject their leavened bread, following the Apostle's word that to the pure all things are pure' (Rom. 14: 20). In effect, Gregory was saying that, to build *concordia* with the Greeks, he would countenance even their use of leavened bread; he could apply the principle of economy as well as they. As for the Armenian patriarch, Gregory indicated how very little, by comparison, was required of him. He rounded off his letter with a prayer that God, the source of all that men rightly know and feel and believe, would more abundantly illuminate his mind,

directing him in the way of wise understanding and preserving him in the concordant unity of the faithful (*in concordi fidelium unitate*).

There our evidence ceases. But it suggests that, if Gregory in his last years was willy-nilly drawn a little way behind Robert Guiscard towards the military subjection of Byzantium, his central purpose remained that of seeking by all means the peaceful agreement of Eastern Christians with the Roman church. We may further reflect that the issues raised by John the Armenian's visit are likely to have been ventilated in the Lateran palace, and so to have been thought about by the abbot of Montecassino who in June 1080 was concerned with the reconciliation of Robert Guiscard, and by the cardinal-bishop of Ostia – that is, by the future Popes Victor III and Urban II. The slender evidence that we have suggests that Gregory's pursuit of peaceful agreement was his main legacy in Eastern affairs to his successors in the papal office.

About Victor III it is possible to say but little; he was effectively pope for only some four months. Yet he was more active than historians have given him credit for, and his reign supplied a genuine link between those of Gregory VII and Urban II.³⁴ So far as we know, as pope his possible contacts with Byzantium were restricted to one letter, which on balance seems rather more likely to be his than Victor II's. In it a Pope Victor requested an empress – it may have been Alexius Comnenus' mother during a time of regency – to restrain Byzantine officials who were harassing Western pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre. He addressed her as *gloriosa et dilecta filia A. imperatrix augusta* – a title that assumed the imperial quality of Byzantine rulership.³⁵

Such recognition was in line, not only with Gregory VII's outlook, but also with the wholehearted acceptance of Byzantine institutions that Victor had himself maintained since 1058 while he

34. See Cowdrey, *The Age of Abbot Desiderius*.

35. *PL*, cl, cols.961-62; cf. Cowdrey, *op.cit.*, p.209, n.106. The cordial references to the empress and to her piety and daughtership of the Roman church (*primae et propriae matris tuae*) may allude to Anna Dalassena's South Italian background of which Victor III is more likely than Victor II to be aware: Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, iii, 8, 1, ed. B. Leib, 4 vols. (Paris, 1967-76), i, pp.125,174. For her piety and desire for the religious life, see ii, 5, 1-5, iii, 6, 1-8, 5, pp.75-78, 119-27; her power as regent are set out at pp.120-22. She is called βασιλις at p.127, also at iii, 8, 10, p.129, and vi, 7, 5, vol. ii, p.59. The initial A fits no one in Victor II's time.

was abbot of Montecassino and a cardinal-priest of the Roman church. He never travelled to Constantinople, but he was a friend of its emperors. Romanus IV Diogenes took a close interest in the ornaments that Abbot Desiderius commissioned there for his new basilica, and in 1076 Michael VII Ducas granted Montecassino an annual pension of twenty-three pounds of gold and four cloths.³⁶ As abbot and as pope, Desiderius regarded the Byzantine East as the counterpart of the Latin West. Even less than Gregory did he feel alienated from it.

Such being the climate of opinion, it is not surprising that, as soon as Urban II became pope in 1088, he made the improvement of relations with the Byzantine church and Empire a major concern. There were powerful reasons for this, arising from Urban's need to deny resources to his rival the antipope Clement III, and to Henry IV of Germany who had set him up. During the early 1080s Henry had received large sums of money from Alexius Comnenus. After he was enthroned at Rome in 1084, Clement III did not cease to bid for support from Eastern Christians over a wide area. A letter of his from April/June 1089, written in the Greek language, assured the Metropolitan Basileios of Reggio/Calabria that Henry IV would soon intervene in Italy. Clement also referred to an exchange of letters with the patriarch of Constantinople, 'our most holy brother', and in this connection to his desire to live in peace and concord (ὁμόνοια) with all men. Gregory VII's quest for *concordia* was being continued by the antipope. Urban must outbid him in his search for Byzantine friendship. This Urban was well placed to do because the principal Norman adversary of Byzantium, Robert Guiscard, had like Gregory died in 1085. Urban's main supporter among the Normans, Count Roger of Sicily, never showed an interest in Byzantine adventures, but encouraged the pope to promote the reconciliation of the churches. He posed no threat to Alexius Comnenus which would tend to make Urban *persona non grata* in Byzantium.³⁸ Alexius himself needed all the help he could

36. *Chronica monasterii Cassinensis*, iii, 22, 39, ed. H. Hoffmann, *MGH, SS*, xxxiv, pp. 403, 415-16.

37. Holtzmann, *Beiträge*, pp. 98-99, no. 1.

38. See Gaufridus Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et*

get; for he was increasingly hard-pressed not only by the Seljuks but also by the Pechenegs. In the winter of 1091-2 Constantinople itself was under siege by land and sea.

In 1089 Urban made the first move by freeing Alexius from the excommunication that Gregory VII had imposed and by requesting that Latin Christians in his Empire be allowed to open their churches and follow their own rites. In September Alexius responded by summoning and presiding over a synod at Constantinople. The record of its proceedings referred to Urban's letter to the emperor as having sought to establish peace and concord (εἰρήνην ζητῶν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν), and declared that Urban's name had been omitted from the diptychs at Constantinople by an oversight. The patriarch of Constantinople wrote to Urban, confirming that there was no problem about Latin churches and their freedom of worship within his jurisdiction. If as the synod requested Urban would send a systatic letter to Constantinople together with a profession of faith, that would confirm the common union (τὴν κοινὴν ἔνωσιν) that bound their churches. In the event Urban sent no such letter which would have enabled his name to be restored to the diptychs κατ' οἰκονομίαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν, and he did not take up Alexius' suggestion that he or his legate should come to Constantinople to discuss outstanding problems. The Metropolitan Basileios of Reggio wrote bitterly to the patriarch of Constantinople about his encounter with Urban at the council of Melfi later in the year.³⁹ Yet Sir Steven Runciman rightly comments that 'all the same it could be said that any schism that there had been between the two churches was closed. During the next decade there was an atmosphere of peace and friendship'.⁴⁰

The military position of Byzantium also improved. The year 1091 saw the battle of Mount Levunion at which Alexius Comnenus annihilated the army of the Pechenegs, and in 1092 died Malik Shah, the last of the great Seljuk sultans. In the prevailing atmos-

Roberti Guiscardi fratris eius, iv, 13, ed. E. Pontieri, *RIS*, NŠ v, 1, pp.92-93.

39. Holtzmann, *Beiträge*, pp.99-104, nos.2-4. See P. Herde, 'Das Papsttum und die griechische Kirche in Süditalien vom 11. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, xxvi (1970), pp.1-46, at 11-15.

40. *The Eastern Schism*, p.62.

phere of peace and friendship, Alexius did not cease to solicit military aid from the West to recover the lands that the pagans had occupied. According to the Swabian chronicler Bernold, a legation came to the council of Piacenza in March 1095. It implored the pope and all Christians to bring help against the pagans for the defence of the holy church which they had nearly extinguished in Alexius' Empire by occupying it up to the very walls of Constantinople. Urban – so Bernold continues – summoned many upon oath to go and give the emperor their most faithful aid against the pagans.⁴¹ And at Clermont, in the following November, he preached the sermon that elicited the First Crusade.

Historians – Walther Holtzmann is an example – have sometimes been inclined to dissociate the quest for ecclesiastical union from the development of the idea of the Crusade.⁴² Holtzmann pointed out that, by 1095, the search for union had extended over decades, during some of which the West remained untroubled by the Moslem domination of the Holy Land. Only with evidences of Seljuk savagery, and especially with the Seljuk capture of Jerusalem in 1078 and of Antioch in 1084 did the West become seriously concerned about it. And the two issues never really converged. I want, finally, to suggest that the centrality that Jerusalem assumed in Urban's mind is evidence that, for him, the military expedition and the union of the churches belonged together.

The evidence for Urban's intentions is sparse and hard to interpret. But, whether or not he named Jerusalem in his address at Clermont (and the balance of probability seems to be that he did⁴³), it came to be in the forefront of his mind. It may not always have been so – not even early in 1095. At Piacenza – if we follow Bernold – Alexius Comnenus asked for help that centred upon the threatened city of Constantinople, whose emperor Western knights were to assist. But, in his first-hand account of Urban's preaching during Lent 1096, Count Fulk le Réchin of Anjou told how 'the Roman pope came to Anjou and urged its people to go to

41. Bernold, *Chronicon*, a. 1095, ed. G.H.Pertz, *MGH, SS*, v, p.462.

42. *Beiträge*, pp.77-79.

43. H.E.J.Cowdrey, 'Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade', *History*, lv (1970), pp.177-88, repr. in *Popes, Monks and Crusaders*, no.XVI.

Jerusalem and attack the gentile peoples who had seized that city and all the land of the Christians up to Constantinople'; and by 1096 the Swabian chronicler Bernold was writing in similar terms.⁴⁴ Jerusalem has moved to the centre, and Constantinople has become a secondary objective. Urban's own letters also came to emphasize Jerusalem. Writing to the Flemings in December 1095 he said that the seizure of the Holy City of Christ was the worst of the barbarians' outrages. In September 1096 he told the Bolognese of his pleasure that many of them had felt the longing to go to Jerusalem; their proper motives in going were the salvation of their souls and the liberation of the church. In October 1096 he began his letter to the monks of Vallombrosa by saying: 'We hear that some of you want to travel with the knights who are going to Jerusalem in order to liberate Christendom'.⁴⁵

Urban may be his own best interpreter. We saw how, when Gregory VII in 1074 was planning his Eastern expeditions, he had an underlying religious purpose. It turned upon his understanding of the direct action of God and the devil upon the world. Gregory must directly exercise the hierarchical power of the apostolic see to frustrate the devil's own attempts to turn Eastern Christians from the Catholic faith, and his attempts in his limbs the Saracens to slaughter them like cattle. Erdmann long ago showed how Urban did not repeat Gregory's mistake of promoting his expeditions under the direct command of the vicar of St. Peter; he enlisted the enthusiastic response of the military classes under their own natural leaders.⁴⁶ His religious purpose seems also to have been no less

44. *Fragmentum historiae Andegavensis*, in *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, ed. L. Halphen and R. Poupardin (Paris, 1913), p. 380; Bernold, *Chron.*, a. 1096, p. 464: *His temporibus maxima multitudo ... Ierosolimam contra paganos, ut liberarent christianos, ire cepit. Cuius expeditionis dominus papa maximus auctor fuit.*

45. Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 136-38, nos. II-III; W. Wiederhold, *Papsturkunden in Florenz*, in *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, ph.-hist. Kl. 1901, Heft 3, pp. 314-15, no. 6. In a charter of 1097, Countess Clementia of Flanders saw Jerusalem as the centre of the 'Persians' oppression of the Christian religion: Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 142, no. 7.2. See, too, Frutolf of Michaelsberg, *Chron.*, a. 1096, p. 106, and Pope Paschal II's letter of Dec. 1099 to the archbishops, bishops, and abbots of France: Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 174-75, 403-407, no. 19.

46. *The Origin*, pp. 223-24, 227-28, 306-54. Despite Urban II's need for help at Rome against the Guibertines, he refrained from using the Crusaders whom he met at

pronounced than Gregory's. But it, too, was more sophisticated, with its springs in his view of man's creation and redemption, impressed upon his mind by life-long familiarity as a Cluniac with the imagery of the monastic liturgical round, and especially by Cluny's *Psalmenfrömmigkeit* with its emphasis upon Jerusalem.

It is probably disclosed in a letter of Urban that Ramackers published in 1936, although historians have given it little attention.⁴⁷ The letter survives only in a sixteenth-century copy, but Ramackers believed it to be taken, perhaps at one remove, from Urban's lost original Register. (Even if it is a derivative composition, belonging to the Crusading *excitatoria*, it still appears to bear the imprint of the pope's own mind.) It is dated from the Lateran early in 1097, when some of the Christian *principes* on their way to the East were delaying in South Italy. It makes clear Urban's conviction that the whole military force of his expedition must be brought to bear on Jerusalem, where Christ had won man's redemption. It begins by referring to the *benignitas* of the Creator of mankind, both in the works of his first creation and in the miracles of redemption which the right hand of the Most High sought to perform, thus to renew mankind and to subject all things under his feet. What should men pay back to God, who had not spared his own Son from the torments of the Cross, for all the benefits that he had done? Urban cited Christ's words: 'If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.' He should travel to Jerusalem, Urban insisted, there to avenge the injury done to Christ by its loss and to repel the barbarous and cruel nations who had entered God's inheritance and made Jerusalem a heap of stones – Urban cited Ps. 78 (Vg.) at length. As he presented matters, the avenging of God's inheritance of Jerusalem must come first; then other things would follow. We

Lucca in Oct. 1096 to escort him there: Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana* (1095-1127), i, 7, 1-4, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), pp. 163-68. The contrast with Gregory VII's plan of spring 1074 is revealing.

47. J. Ramackers, 'Zwei unbekannte Briefe Urbans II. Zugleich ein Beitrag zum Problem der Register dieses Papstes', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, xxvi (1935-36), pp. 268-76; the Crusading letter is from Paris, BN MS lat. 5204 III, fol. 634. Its genuineness is indicated by its Latinity, the quality of its thought, and its similarity to Urban's known letters.

may infer from Fulk of Anjou that they certainly included the liberation of all the land of the Christians up to Constantinople. And we may infer from Pope Paschal II's immediate reaction on hearing of the fall of Jerusalem that a further consequence would be the restoration of the Eastern church, after its long captivity, to the glory of its ancient liberty. God's purpose for the church would thus be fulfilled. Urban's expectations appear also to be echoed by St. Anselm of Canterbury, who during his first exile was Urban's close companion:

Blessed be God [he wrote to King Baldwin I of Jerusalem]... who by his grace raised you to the royal dignity in the land where our Lord Jesus Christ himself, seeding through himself the beginning of Christianity, planted his new church so that it might be propagated thence through the whole world. Because of men's sins it was for long by God's judgement oppressed by the heathen; but in our times by his mercy he wonderfully revived it.⁴⁸

In all likelihood, Anselm was at one with Urban in a belief that Christianity should be propagated by means of the renewal of the place where it began in the days of the apostles.

By placing Jerusalem at the centre of the picture Urban guaranteed a response to his call that was beyond anything that he had foreseen or even intended. Jerusalem was an image of sufficient power to nerve the Frankish chivalry (in his words of the letter of 1097) 'to reach in purity of heart and body the land of their pilgrimage where the Lord's feet had stood, and to stand firm in the faith and play the man by attacking the host of the Philistines.' But it is Urban's tragedy that his plans effectively to help the East, and to ensure success by unlocking the resources of divine help that Jerusalem had in store, should have immeasurably increased alienation and division.

The alienation of the Eastern Empire. There is nothing to suggest that, to the end of his days, Urban wavered from the

48. Ep. 235, *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi Opera omnia*, ed. F.S.Schmitt, 6 vols. (Edinburgh, 1946-61), iv, pp.142-43. For Anselm's attitude to the Crusade, see H.E.J.Cowdrey, 'Cluny and the First Crusade', *Revue bénédictine*, lxxxiii (1973), pp.285-311, repr. *Popes, Monks and Crusaders*, no. XV, at pp.306-308.

acceptance of Byzantium and its emperor that the reform popes had always manifested. And we can by no means exclude the possibility that Alexius Comnenus himself may have referred to Jerusalem in approaches to Urban for military help, as an incentive to him to further his own plans for the Byzantine Empire. But, genuine as was Urban's intention to help, it is astonishing that a pope who was habitually diplomatic and tactful should have built so largely upon Alexius' approaches, however expressed. In circumstances that can hardly have allowed for due consultation, he made Constantinople the assembly point for the Western contingents; and they came in numbers that neither he nor the Byzantines can have anticipated. One understands Anna Comnena's reference to her father's dread upon hearing the rumour that countless Frankish armies were approaching,⁴⁹ and why, in spite of Urban's goodwill towards Byzantium, in her account of the First Crusade she said not a word about him. In Byzantium the coming of the Crusaders revived fears that many Latins coveted the Byzantine Empire and wished to acquire it, and it confirmed prejudices that they were cruel, greedy, and alien.

And the division of the churches. That Urban's commitment to building up *concordia* never wavered is clear from his council of Bari in 1098, at which he sought to reconcile the Greek churches of South Italy and Sicily to the Latin church order of that region. In matters of practice, Urban left the Greeks in the use of their own rites; like Gregory VII he even tolerated their use of unleavened bread. When the Greeks raised the question of the *filioque*, Urban called upon the peaceable St. Anselm to explain the Latin use of it, leaving the way open for them still to use their credal forms, so long as they did not question the Latins' propriety in using theirs'.⁵⁰ And while Urban's legate Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy was alive to guide the First Crusade, its members seem to have been careful not to infringe the ecclesiastical order of the East.⁵¹

But after Adhemar died at Antioch on 1 August 1098 things

49. *Alexiad*, x, 5, 4-6, ed. Leib ii, pp.206-10.

50. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism*, pp.76-77.

51. For Adhemar's influence, see S.Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, i *The First Crusade* (Cambridge, 1951), pp.252-53.

quickly changed. The Franks began to take steps leading to a Latin Eastern church that would be a wedge to drive apart the Western church and the older Eastern churches. The letter that the Crusading leaders sent to Urban from Antioch on 11 September 1098 marks the beginning.⁵² They summoned Urban himself to come to the East and finish the work that he had begun. They described how they had subdued the Turks and the pagans; but they had not been able to overcome those whom they stigmatized as heretics – the Greeks, Armenians, Syrians and Jacobites.⁵³ So Urban, as vicar of St. Peter, should come and sit in Peter's chair in the city – Antioch – of which he had once been bishop. By his own authority and by the Crusaders' might, Urban should eradicate heresies of whatever kind. Then he could complete the pilgrimage that he had proclaimed by opening the gates of both the earthly and of the heavenly Jerusalem, freeing the Holy Sepulchre, and setting the Christian name above every name. 'If you can come to us', they urged, 'and complete the pilgrimage that you began, the whole world will be obedient to you.' The call for Latin dominance and the stigmatization of Eastern Christians as heretics was a far cry from the *concordia* that the reform popes sought – not least Urban himself. Yet the princes were invoking the terms in which he had proclaimed their expedition – the centrality that he had given to Jerusalem, and its capture as the key to unlocking God's grace. The future lay with their view of what should follow, not his. In October when they captured Albara, they instituted a Latin bishop. The chronicler Raymond of Aguilers' comment is significant: 'the Latins gave God thanks that he had willed to have a Latin bishop in an Eastern church for the administration of his household.'⁵⁴ The final step was for the Latin hierarchy in Syria and Palestine to become, in Western eyes, quintessentially the Eastern church. As soon as the Latin kingdom and church of Jerusalem were set up, St. Anselm in his letters to King Baldwin I was beginning to see matters that way.

52. Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp.161-65, no. 16, esp. sects. 13-14, pp.164-65.

53. There is no reason to accept Runciman's suggestion that 'by Greek heretics the princes probably meant Greek-speaking Paulicians': *The Eastern Schism*, p.87; see von den Brincken, *Die 'nationes Christianorum orientalium'*, p.23.

54. *Le 'Liber' de Raymond d'Aguilers*, c.11, ed. J.H. and L.L.Hill, (Paris, 1969), p.92.

Baldwin was to reign as an exemplary king after the pattern of his *antecessor* King David, and for all time the church of Jerusalem was to be an exemplar of the *libertas* that Western churchmen held dear.⁵⁵ For St. Bernard the Latin church in Syria and Palestine would be the Eastern church *tout court*.⁵⁶

And so Urban's purpose of bringing together the churches of East and West was frustrated by the victory of his own expedition. The intrusive Latin church of the East did not, it is true, last for long; Jerusalem was lost to Saladin after only eighty-eight years, and the Latin settlement on the mainland of Asia was over within two centuries. The ancient churches again came to the fore as the Eastern churches. But the barrier between them and the West that was established during the First Crusade, that became ever greater through the twelfth century, and that was completed in 1204, was there to stay. It still remains as the tragic legacy of the Crusading period.

55. Epp. 235, 324, ed. Schmitt, iv, pp.142-43, v, p.255.

56. For the parallel hardening of Byzantine attitudes, see J.Spiteris, 'La critica bizantina del primato romano nel secolo XII', *Orientalia Christiana analecta*, ccviii (Rome, 1979).

VI

THE PHENOMENON OF MANUEL I KOMNENOS

P. MAGDALINO / ST. ANDREWS

The twelfth century may or may not have discovered the individual, but it is certainly a period which lends itself to study in terms of famous men. There is no better way to get to the heart of Byzantine-western relations in this most critical century than to study the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos. His reign, from 1143 to 1180, was in every sense central to the developments that led from the First to the Fourth Crusade. It marked the culmination, and the end, of the Comnenian dynastic effort to revive the eastern empire and find a secure place for it in the new world of Turkish and Latin expansion. Manuel was the last Byzantine emperor who was able to deal with the West from a position of strength. To this extent, his reign would be interesting even if he were not. Yet Manuel was also one of the most striking individuals who sat on the Byzantine throne, a brilliant, complex, versatile personality who rose to the challenge of the age with great panache. He lived up to most of the clichés of imperial panegyric, including the *topos* that no rhetoric could do him justice. Not only did he display an extraordinary range of traditional qualities which had rarely, if ever, come together in one ruler; he also showed flashes of real originality. Above all, he was the first Byzantine emperor to gain a reputation as a friend and admirer of the Latin West. Insofar as Byzantium was the first non-western society to experience and articulate the problems of westernisation, Manuel thus presents a phenomenon whose interest is not confined to Byzantine or medieval studies.

It is curious fact that Manuel has not gone down in history as one of the very great Byzantine emperors, nor as one of the great rulers

of the twelfth century. Byzantinists have always found him slightly embarrassing, and western medievalists have not rushed to adopt him, although he surely invites comparison with his European contemporaries, notably Roger II of Sicily and Frederick Barbarossa. There is only one major study of his reign, written by Chalandon over seventy years ago, and its concluding verdict is essentially negative:¹

Of the various emperors of the dynasty of the Comneni who succeeded each other on the throne of Constantinople, Manuel was the most brilliant; one could not say that he was the most remarkable, because his father and grandfather were clearly superior to him. He in effect compromised the work of restoration undertaken and continued by Alexios and John. They had proportioned their ambitions to the resources at their disposal; it was not the same with Manuel who was unable to choose between the various enterprises open to him. In extending his political activity to many fields, the son of John II resolved no question properly, and achieved only ephemeral successes. Undoubtedly, his reign was marked by some territorial gains, by the temporary extension of Byzantine influence in the east, but none of the results obtained was definitive. Inspired by the chimerical dream of re-establishing the unity of the empire, the *basileus'* European policy, in Hungary as in Italy, prevented him from halting the development of the state of Iconium and of playing the role in the east which at one point he seemed about to fulfil.

We have pointed out the excuses which one might invoke in the *basileus'* favour; it remains true nevertheless that this cheque-book diplomacy ('politique faite à coup d'argent') not only exhausted the empire's resources, without obtaining any appreciable results, but also exacerbated hatred of the Greeks among westerners who, when the time came, would seize with glee the opportunity to exact vengeance for the grievances, whether real or imaginary, which they had against the Byzantine empire.

1. F. Chalandon, *Les Comnènes* (Paris, 1912; repr. London, 1962), ii, p.607.

From the Byzantine point of view, Manuel's evident taste for western civilisation was equally disastrous. In welcoming all foreigners, in granting them functions and offices to an excessive degree, the *basileus* aroused in his subjects a violent irritation which would one day be translated into bloody action. At the same time the army, which was formed of mercenaries to far too great an extent, saw its strength weaken.

Manuel was fortunate to die soon enough not to have to see the harmful consequences of his policy; consequences which the clairvoyant minds of some of his contemporaries had already perceived. The legacy of the *basileus* was burdensome to shoulder, and none of his successors would be able to put the empire's affairs to rights. In the years that followed, decline would gather momentum; it is fair to say that it began in Manuel's reign.

These words may be taken as the classic statement of modern scholarly opinion on the subject. In the 1950s, Paolo Lamma laid the basis for a more sympathetic appraisal of Manuel's western policy,² but few subsequent discussions of the period have taken his insights into account, and most have tended to present a version of what we may call the Chalandon thesis. Only in very recent publications, notably those of R.-J. Lilie, are there signs that received opinion may at last, be on the move.³

The appeal of the Chalandon thesis is obvious. It fits the undeniable facts of Byzantine collapse from 1180. It conforms to certain good, old-fashioned prejudices from which Byzantinism is still not entirely free. Indeed, Chalandon's assessment of Manuel was largely anticipated by the great 'Whig' historians of Modern Greece, George Finlay and Constantine Paparregopoulos. Finlay, with his experience of the court of King Otto of the Hellenes, saw

2. P. Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer. Ricerche sui rapporti fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente nel secolo XII*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1955-7).

3. R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten. Studien zur Politik des byzantinischen Reiches gegenüber den Staaten der Kreuzfahrer in Syrien und Palästina bis zum vierten Kreuzzug (1096-1204)*, *Poikila Byzantina*, i (Munich, 1981); *idem*, *Handel und Politik zwischen dem byzantinischen Reich und den italienischen Kommunen Venedig, Pisa und Genua in der Epoche der Komnenen und der Angeloi (1081-1204)* (Amsterdam, 1984). See also the relevant chapters of M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204* (London, 1984).

Manuel as the incarnation of a decadent twelfth-century *ancien régime*, an extravagant, irresponsible absolutist who committed the unpardonable sin of ruining the only progressive element in Byzantine society, its underdeveloped middle class.⁴ Paparregopoulos, the 'Father of Modern Greek history', generally deplored the influx of foreigners into Byzantium under the Comneni, and was particularly critical of Manuel for surrounding himself with westerners, for, he maintained, it should have been obvious 'that of all foreigners it was the westerners with whom our people could not coexist'.⁵ Most importantly, however, Chalandon's assessment of Manuel still carries conviction because it is based entirely on criticisms expressed by Niketas Choniates, our main authority for the period, and one of the most profound Byzantine historical writers.⁶ Indeed, it is far from clear to what extent Manuel's modern critics have influenced each other, or arrived at their conclusions independently from their reading of Choniates.

The Chalandon thesis may well be right. But if so, it is right in spite of, not because of, its dependence on Choniates. Chalandon himself came close to recognising that as a mere reporter of facts, Choniates is less reliable and informative than John Kinnamos, Manuel's official, eulogistic biographer.⁷ In any case, too little attention has been paid to the brighter aspects of Choniates' portrait of Manuel, and to the reasons for his criticisms. It seems banal to point out that he wrote at a time when the failure of Manuel's foreign policy had become apparent. Yet the point needs making, because Choniates shows that he *approved* of that policy in principle. He commended Manuel for having recognised the threat

4. G. Finlay, *A History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time, B.C. 146 to A.D. 1864* (Oxford, 1877), iii, pp. 145-58, 163, 173, 197-8.

5. K. Paparregopoulos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους*, 2nd. ed. (Athens, 1887), iv, pp. 519-25.

6. Ed. J.-L. Van Dieten (Berlin/New York, 1975): all references below are to the page numbers of this edition. On the work, see A. P. Kazhdan, *Kniga i pisatel' v Vizantii* (Moscow, 1974), chapter 3; H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Munich, 1978), i, pp. 429ff. For Choniates' attitude to imperial power, cf. my 'Aspects of Twelfth-Century Byzantine Kaiserkritik', *Speculum*, lviii (1983), pp. 326-46.

7. Chalandon, *Les Comnènes*, ii, pp. xiv-xxxiv. Cf. also H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966), p. 243.

from the West and for having faced up to it manfully.⁸ His great problem was to explain why this heroic ruler had failed so dismally; why, after his death, his son was murdered and later emperors undid his achievements. Being a man of his time, the author naturally sought an explanation in the workings of Divine Providence, which for him, as for many medieval writers, was a sort of Christian Nemesis.⁹ He concluded that God must have found something very rotten in the state of Constantinople before as well as after Manuel's death. He was therefore concerned to identify the sinful excesses which Manuel had committed, and which linked him to the hollow men who came after him. So when Choniates criticises Manuel's belief in astrology and divination, his authoritarian attitude in church affairs, his corrupt and extortionate fiscal administration, his taste for pomp and luxury, his autocratic paranoia, his erratic behaviour during and after Myriokephalon, the author is thinking partly about the divine retribution which these flaws would provoke, and partly about the grotesque and tragic dimensions which they would assume in the characters of Andronikos I and Isaac II. He is also, undoubtedly, thinking about the fact that the West, especially the German empire, had gone from strength to strength since Manuel's death. We shall return to the subject of Choniates' attitude to the West, but at this point we may note that while he criticises Manuel for having appointed barbarians to high office, he does not specifically censure the emperor's liking for westerners.¹⁰ It is also worth noting that of the few idealised, flawless heroes in Choniates' narrative, two are German monarchs who took the cross: Conrad III and Frederick Barbarossa.¹¹ To be sure, his descriptions of them are highly stereotyped: his eulogy of Barbarossa could almost have been copied from a Byzantine imperial oration. But this reveals a further aspect of Choniates

8. Choniates, pp.199 ff, especially 203; cf. also pp.89, 100.

9. Cf. Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten*, pp.284ff; A.Kazhdan, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1984), pp.273ff; Averil Cameron, *Agathias* (Oxford, 1970), p.108; L.Green, *Chronicle into History* (Cambridge, 1963), pp.19f.

10. The passages on pp.204-5 merit careful reading.

11. pp.68ff, 416-7.

which goes to underline the point I am making. The language, style, and imagery of his narrative are heavy with echoes of court panegyric.¹² This partly reflects his own training as an imperial encomiast, and partly his use of official, rhetorical source material. Either way, it is clear that his perception of political figures was profoundly influenced by the inflated rhetorical terms in which they were continually being presented. Thus when he criticises an emperor, one is never entirely sure whether it is the emperor as such or the rhetorical image to which he is reacting.¹³

These observations do not, of course, invalidate Choniates' testimony. However, they do suggest that he is a witness for the defence as well as for the prosecution. This being so, it becomes clear that the case against Manuel cannot rest on his evidence alone, but must stand or fall on the strength of its built-in assumptions. These are as follows:

1. The empire could not afford the demands that Manuel made on it.
2. His policy was hopelessly over-ambitious.
3. It had a heavily western orientation which was against the interest and inclinations of his subjects.
4. It left the empire weak and vulnerable, and precipitated the crisis of 1203-4.

The question of whether the Byzantine economy could sustain Manuel's imperial policy need not detain us long.¹⁴ Suffice it to say that all the written sources, apart from the letters of one or two whining bishops, give the impression of a very rich society, at least on the European side; that archaeological and numismatic evidence does not contradict this impression; that the *initial* effect of Italian

12. The close connection between epideictic rhetoric and narrative history in the Greek sources of this period is crucial to their interpretation. There are some useful observations in P. Wirth, 'Die Sprachliche Situation in dem umrissenen Zeitalter (sc. 1071-1261). Renaissance des Attizismus, Herausbildung der neugriechischen Sprache', *XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Rapports et co-rapports*, ii, 1 (Athens, 1976), pp. 18-21, 33ff.

13. E.g. the much-quoted passage on p. 209; cf. Magdalino, 'Aspects', p. 327 and n. 6.

14. Especially now that readers can be referred to M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c. 300-1450* (Cambridge, 1985).

merchant enterprise in the Aegean area was probably to stimulate, rather than to depress, local production. We need not doubt that Manuel taxed the economy for all it was worth, that he spent extravagantly, and that a large proportion of his expenditure went out of the empire in the form of gifts and subsidies: thus his niece Theodora brought Baldwin III of Jerusalem a dowry of 100,000 *hyperpyra*, possibly five times Manuel's annual income from the city of Constantinople.¹⁵ But some of his campaigns in the Balkans and Asia Minor seem to have paid for themselves, or even made a profit, in human and animal booty.¹⁶ During his reign the rich agricultural lands of the Aegean and Black Sea fringe were as secure from invasion as they had ever been, and the troubles of the 1180s and 1190s were probably far more ruinous than his taxation.

At first sight, everything seems to confirm that Manuel dreamed the impossible dream of restoring the empire of Justinian, if not that of Constantine. As we might expect, it is Choniates who appears to say it all. A propos of the joint Byzantine-crusader expedition to Egypt in 1169, he writes that Manuel was driven to this enterprise by 'an untimely love of glory and the desire to emulate emperors whose fame was great and whose boundaries had stretched not only from sea to sea, but from the eastern horizon to the Pillars of Hercules'.¹⁷ In discussing Manuel's costly efforts to win friends and influence people in Italy, Choniates says that the emperor was ridiculed by his subjects 'for nurturing foreign ambitions out of egoism, and casting his eyes to the ends of the earth..... and going beyond the limits set by former emperors'.¹⁸ This impression of

15. Cf. William of Tyre, xviii, 22: *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Historiens occidentaux*, i, 2 (Paris, 1844; repr. Farnborough, 1967), p.857; *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. and tr. M.N.Adler (London, 1907), p.13; HENDY, *Studies*, pp.173-4

16. See, e.g., Kinnamos (Bonn ed.), p.114; Choniates, p.93; 'Pseudo-Prodrornos', ed. E.Miller, *Rec. hist. crois., hist. gr.*, iii, p.344; Theodore Prodrornos, *Historische Gedichte*, ed. W.Hörsandner (Vienna, 1974), no.xxx, lines 151,307-9; W.Regel, *Fontes Rerum Byzantinorum* (St. Petersburg, 1892, 1917; repr. Leipzig, 1982), pp.77ff, 147.

17. p.160; cf. H.Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer*, p.233: 'Quelques lignes de Nicéas Choniates nous révèlent d'une façon précise et claire les principes qui ont dominé la politique étrangère et le programme diplomatique de Manuel Ier Comnène'.

18. Choniates, p.203.

megalomania is strengthened not only by good evidence that Manuel sought the imperial crown of the West from Pope Alexander III,¹⁹ but also by the scale and style of his diplomacy, his military campaigns, his court, and, generally, the imperial image that he projected. He clearly set out to dazzle and seduce the whole of Christendom, if not also Islam, with his wealth, his armies, his invincible prowess as a jousting, wrestler, and huntsman, his ability to compete with doctors and theologians, and his power to impose his will.²⁰ There is something theatrical and overstated about everything he did. Of the many illustrations that spring to mind, it is perhaps most appropriate to mention the famous synodal dossier, or *Ekthesis*, of the doctrinal controversy that arose in 1166 over the meaning of Christ's saying 'The Father is greater than I'.²¹ Manuel presided over the main synodal sessions in the Great Palace, in a hall built by him and decorated with triumphal mosaics.²² The Synod's decisions, which naturally represented the emperor's own views, were published in a document called, with what seems like deliberate anachronism, an *idikton*, and inscribed in stone in Hagia Sophia.²³ The *intitulatio* of this document gives Manuel a long string of triumphal epithets reminiscent of Justinian, and describes him as

19. Boso, *Vita Alexandri III*, ed. L. Duchesne, *Liber Pontificalis*, ii (Paris, 1892), pp. 415-20; A. Dondaine, 'Hugues Ethérien et Léon Toscan', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, xix (1952), pp. 126-7. Cf. P. Classen, 'Die Komnenen und die Kaiserkrone des Westens', *Journal of Medieval History*, 3 (1977), pp. 207-224.

20. For references, see P. Magdalino and R. Nelson, 'The Emperor in Byzantine Art of the Twelfth Century', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, viii (1982), pp. 172-3. On Manuel as lawgiver, see now R. Macrides, 'Justice under Manuel I Komnenos: Four Novels on Court Business and Murder', *Fontes Minores*, vi (Frankfurt, 1984), pp. 99-204.

21. Edition and commentary, with full reference to earlier bibliography, by St. N. Sakkos, 'Ο Πατήρ μου μέζων μου ἐστίν. Ἐριδες καὶ σὺνοδοι κατὰ τὸν ἰδ' αἰῶνα, Σπουδαστῆριον Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Γραμματολογίας, viii (Thessalonike, 1968).

22. See my 'Manuel Komnenos and the Great Palace', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, iv (1978), pp. 106-7.

23. C. Mango, 'The Conciliar Edict of 1166', *DOP*, xvii (1963), pp. 315-30; cf. N. Van der Wal, 'Edictum und lex edictalis', *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*, xxviii (1981), pp. 310-2. On the wider legislative context, see Macrides, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-102.

'heir to the crown of Constantine the Great, whose rights he occupies in spirit, since some have revolted from our authority'. The documents were edited with the addition of introductory and explanatory passages which celebrate Manuel's role in most fulsome terms. From this point of view, the *Ekthesis* is simply one of the many *encomia* which make Manuel the most highly eulogised emperor in all Byzantine literature, both quantitatively and qualitatively speaking. It was, for instance, under him that the cult of the emperor's Christlike divinity reached its fullest expression.²⁴

Having said all this, the following points must be made. Firstly, Manuel's theatrical orchestration of public occasions was in the best Byzantine ceremonial tradition. Secondly, his flamboyant personality cult was necessary for domestic consumption, to emphasise the emperor's preeminence among the princes of the Comnenian clan.²⁵ As Paolo Lamma has pointed out, the tricky circumstances of Manuel's succession must have made him very anxious to prove himself.²⁶ Thirdly, his public image was to a large extent the creation of his publicists, and it would be a mistake to assume that it corresponded in every particular to his own idea of himself. His encomiasts usually came from and claimed to speak on behalf of the church and city of Constantinople, and when they idealised the emperor, they did so in terms of a traditional learned consensus.²⁷ Their praise was thus not mere flattery. The identification of the emperor with Christ implied obligations as well as prerogatives, and it was important not only for propaganda, but also for technical, literary reasons. In Manuel's case, insistence on this theme was a constant play on the significance of his name, and, as such, began well before his accession – before even it became known that he would succeed to the throne.²⁸

24. E.g. Prodromos, ed. Hörandner, no. xxx, line 380; 'Pseudo-Prodromos', ed. E. Miller, *Revue archéologique*, xxvi (1874), pp.153-7, lines 24-6, 56-8; Euthymios Malakes, ed. K. Bonis in *Θεολογία*, xix (1941-8), p.537.

25. Cf. Magdalino and Nelson, *op. cit.* (above, n.20), pp.175-6.

26. *Comneni e Staufer*, i, p.48.

27. The remarks of S.G. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1981), pp.9,21, are good for imperial panegyric of all periods.

28. Prodromos, ed. Hörandner, no. xix, lines 73ff.

Besides, in the early years of his reign, the association with Christ Emmanuel was a useful counter to the view that the emperor's youth was a failing.²⁹ It was presumably for this reason, rather than out of *hubris*, that Manuel changed the image on his coins from that of the bearded Christ Pantokrator to that the boy Christ Emmanuel.³⁰

As for Manuel's international policy, the key to understanding it lies in Paolo Lamma's statement that 'il terzo Comneno non vuole essere Giustiniano'.³¹ The *intitulatio* of the 1166 conciliar edict constitutes the only clear evidence that Manuel consciously modelled himself on late antique or early Byzantine precedents. Kinnamos echoed Procopius, particularly in describing Manuel's Italian campaign of 1155-6,³² but otherwise the court *literati* do not seem to have made anything of the obvious and essentially superficial comparison with Justinian's Gothic wars. Manuel's campaign was a small-scale, *ad hoc* enterprise of short duration, and when it failed, the emperor did not repeat the attempt, preferring instead to win Italian loyalties by peaceful means. In general, it may be doubted whether the military reconquest of former Byzantine territory played an important part in his considerations. Only against Hungary did Manuel consistently use force, and here the annexation of Dalmatia and of the land between the Sava and the Danube was only one of his objectives. His great campaigns in the east – the 1158-9 expedition to Syria, the naval expedition to Egypt in 1169, and the ill-fated march on Konya in 1176 – can be seen as isolated demonstrations of force which were almost ends in themselves. In geographical terms, Manuel did not try to extend the empire's boundaries so much as to consolidate them, partly by securing key positions in the Danube basin, in Cilicia, and on the edge of the Anatolian plateau; partly by surrounding the empire with a ring of

29. Magdalino, 'Aspects', p.334 and n.48.

30. M.Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire, 1081-1261* (Washington, D.C., 1969), pp.111ff, especially 126; cf. also examples of Manuel's seals, in G.Zacos and A.Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, i (Basel, 1972), no.107; W.Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*, i (Vienna, 1978), no.29.

31. *Comneni e Staufer*, i, p.204; also preface, p.xii.

32. Hunger, *op. cit.* (above, n.6), p.414.

dependent satellites, notably Hungary, Ancona, and the crusader states. In constitutional terms, Manuel's imperial revival did not require the immediate elimination of new lordships and kingdoms from former imperial territories, but rather their integration into an imperially dominated hierarchy: a family of kings similar to, and related to, the new internal princely hierarchy of the Comnenian clan; a constellation of stars sharing in the light of the imperial sun,³³ held together by marriage ties, joint military enterprises, the coming and going of embassies, and, above all, by lavish subsidies from the imperial treasury.

Manuel's imperialism was thus adapted very sensitively to the political realities of the twelfth century. As all historians have recognised, it grew naturally out of the policies of his predecessors. Indeed, as Lilie has pointed out, in one respect Manuel was actually more moderate in his ambitions: whereas they had aimed to conquer the crusader states, Manuel was prepared to guarantee the *status quo* in Syria and Palestine in the interests of a wider international policy.³⁵ However, the objection remains that this policy was *too* wide; that whatever sort of imperial revival Manuel envisaged, it was still unsuited to the empire's needs and resources; that a Byzantine emperor in the twelfth century had no business trying to be a universal sovereign in any shape or form. Would it not have been better for him to concentrate, like his father, on fighting the Turks and trying to recover Antioch, while covering his western flank with defensive alliances, rather than to spread himself thin on all fronts in order to establish a theoretical supremacy that brought no material gain? Was not his claim to exclusive Roman *imperium* a

33. For the image see, for example, 'Pseudo-Prodhromos', ed. S. Bernardinello, *De Manganis* (Padua, 1973), no. iii, line 75.

34. Regel, *Fontes*, p. 40. The clear statement here that Manuel had invested Henry the Lion with a kingly title has interesting implications for the interpretation of the coronation scene in the famous Helmarshausen gospel book: see K. Jordan, *Heinrich der Löwe* (Munich, 1979), pp. 184-6. The ceremonial with which Manuel received Henry was certainly no less honorific than that which he accorded to royal visitors: compare Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, i, 4, ed. J. M. Lappenberg, *MGH, SRG* (Hanover, 1868), pp. 18-19 with William of Tyre, xviii, 24 and xx, 23.

35. Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten*, chapter 4.

vain and dangerous distraction, which needlessly embroiled him in Italian politics and needlessly antagonised Frederick Barbarossa?

To answer these questions, and to understand Manuel properly, we must, I believe, see his policy as a defensive reaction to the West which developed out of the crisis of the Second Crusade. Before 1147 his priorities seem to have been essentially the same as John II's: counter-offensives in Asia Minor, military pressure on Antioch, alliance with the Hohenstaufen, and backing for the Norman exiles from Southern Italy who formed a powerful pressure-group at court in the 1140s. Only in his flamboyant personal style did Manuel bring anything new to Comnenian dynastic leadership. But the passage of the French and German crusading armies in 1147 was a severe shock which proved the inadequacy of traditional Comnenian policy. It showed that the First Crusade had not been a freak phenomenon, but the beginning of a pattern which could recur whenever danger befell, or threatened, the principalities of Outremer. Moreover, the Second Crusade was, from the Byzantine point of view, even more alarming than the First. It was a purely western response to the fall of Edessa, quite unsolicited on the Byzantine side. It was led not by dukes and counts, but by kings, who clearly saw it as an extension of their own royal authority to the affairs of the Christian east. Their participation gave a new and, for Byzantium, sinister significance to the notion that the defence of Outremer was the collective responsibility of Latin Christendom. Particularly ominous for Byzantium was the idea that the German king, as *rex Romanorum*, was in some sense the overlord of the crusader states; as Rudolf Hiestand has shown, this was an idea which Conrad III and his advisers appear to have taken quite seriously.³⁶

Memories of the First Crusade, and tensions aroused by recent Byzantine policy towards Antioch, made mutual distrust even greater than in 1096. The fact that the crusade coincided with, and facilitated, Roger II's attack on Greece made it look suspiciously like an anti-Byzantine coalition. Odo of Deuil provides clear evidence of collusion between Roger and elements in the French

36. R. Hiestand, "Kaiser" Konrad III., der zweite Kreuzzug und ein verlorenes Diplom für den Berg Thabor', *Deutsches Archiv*, xxxv (1979), pp.82-126.

army who called for an attack on Constantinople.³⁷ According to Kinnamos, the Byzantines themselves were more afraid of Conrad III and the Germans.³⁸ Lilie has questioned this evidence on the grounds that Manuel had recently married Conrad's sister-in-law, and that Kinnamos, who wrote in the 1180s, was influenced by his knowledge of later Byzantine hostility to Frederick Barbarossa.³⁹ However, Kinnamos' testimony is confirmed by a Byzantine text written very close to the event, a verse invective against Conrad which accuses him of wanting to instal a Latin patriarch in Constantinople,⁴⁰ and presents the flash flood of 15 August, which drowned large numbers of Germans, as a miracle of the Virgin, comparable to her deliverance of the city from the Avars in 626.⁴¹ The difficulties experienced by both armies on the march through Asia Minor were naturally blamed on Manuel – perhaps not without reason. Only Conrad's illness at Ephesos, which obliged him to spend the winter of 1147-8 in Constantinople as Manuel's guest and patient, opened the way for a renewal of the German alliance and thus removed the short-term threat of a new and far more dangerous crusade. In the long term, however, the dismal failure of the Second Crusade only made another crusade inevitable.⁴²

In the years immediately following the crusade, Manuel based his policy on his treaty with Conrad III. His wars against Sicily,

37. *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. and tr. V.G.Berry (New York, 1948), pp.59, 69-73.

38. pp.71,74ff; cf. p.82.

39. *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten*, pp.144-5.

40. 'Pseudo-Prodromos', in Marc. gr. xi. 22, fol.30r.:

θρόνω δὲ ταυτόγλωσσον ἐγκαθιδρύσω
 δς ἱεραρχῶν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθος
 ἄζυμα θύσει τὴν νομικὴν θυσίαν
 ταῦτα προὔπεγραψεν ἐν τοῖς ἐγκάτοις...

The preceding section is missing, along with the beginning of the poem, but to judge from these lines it may well have imputed an intention to subject Constantinople to the western empire.

41. Ed. Miller, in *Rec. hist. crois., hist. gr.*, iii, p.224. The use of iambic trimeter in this piece may deliberately recall George of Pisidia's *Bellum Avaricum*, ed. A.Pertusi, *Giorgio di Pisidia, Poemi* (Ettal, 1959).

42. Cf. R.C.Smail, 'Latin Syria and the West, 1149-1187', *TRHS*, xix (1969), pp.1-20.

Hungary, and the Serbs from 1149 to 1156 were all conducted on the assumption of German friendship or neutrality. They were essentially wars of reprisal triggered off by Roger II's capture of Corfu in 1147; even the invasion of Apulia in 1155 after Roger's death was a delayed counter-offensive. It was only after the final breakdown of the German alliance in 1156-7 that Manuel began to evolve a more ambitious, global strategy. The mature phase of his imperial policy, from 1158 until his death, developed in response to the imperialism of Frederick Barbarossa, and corresponded to an acute rivalry between the two men and the two empires.⁴³

Why did the alliance between the Komnenoi and the Stauffer degenerate into a resurgence of the old *Zweikaiserproblem*? It may be that Manuel should take some of the blame for his failure to renew with Barbarossa the understanding he had reached with Conrad. He must have known that Barbarossa's concordat with Pope Eugenius III in 1153 provided for the exclusion and, if necessary, the expulsion of the Greeks from Italy.⁴⁴ His unilateral invasion of Apulia in 1155 was thus, on the face of it, a rash provocation. However, Barbarossa's attitude in this matter may not, at first, have differed greatly from that of Conrad III, who had never *formally* recognised the Byzantine claim to territory in Southern Italy.⁴⁵ Diplomatic contacts between the two courts continued until 1157, and Otto of Freising's accusation that Manuel's agents had subverted the loyalties of Italian cities by displaying letters of Frederick may, as Lilie point out, betray an earlier policy of co-operation that Frederick had abandoned by the time his uncle was writing the *Gesta Frederici*.⁴⁶ On the whole, it seems clear that the cause of the trouble was Barbarossa's determination to restore

43. On which, see Lamma, *Komneni e Stauffer*, *passim*; Lilie, *Handel und Politik*, chapter 16. On Frederick, P. Munz, *Frederick Barbarossa* (London, 1969), is still, despite its idiosyncrasies, the best study in English. The most up to date general survey is in H. Fuhrmann, *Deutsche Geschichte im hohen Mittelalter* (2nd. ed., Göttingen, 1983), Part IV.

44. *MGH, Diplomata*, x, 1, no. 52, p. 89.

45. See H. Vollrath, 'Konrad III. und Byzanz', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, lix (1977), pp. 321-65; Lilie, *Handel und Politik*, pp. 398ff.

46. Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici*, ii, 49 ed. G. Waitz, *MGH, SRG* (Hanover-Leipzig, 1912), pp. 156-7; cf. Lilie, *op. cit.*, pp. 428-47.

the empire in Italy. At every stage, he acted and Manuel reacted. Manuel mounted his Apulian campaign in the wake of Barbarossa's first Italian expedition. Manuel's grand expedition to Cilicia and Syria in 1158-9, which marked the beginning of a new imperial policy in the east, followed Barbarossa's second descent on Lombardy and his institution of a new imperial programme at the Diet of Roncaglia. Manuel's pursuit of a more aggressive policy in the West dates from 1162, the year in which Barbarossa razed Milan to the ground and negotiated treaties with Pisa and Genoa in preparation for an invasion of Southern Italy.⁴⁷ It is from this point that we find Manuel attempting to reduce Hungary to a client kingdom, financing the opposition to Barbarossa in Lombardy, and making overtures to Louis VII, Williams I and II, and Pope Alexander III. And it is from 1165, when Barbarossa backs the election of a new anti-pope, that Manuel begins to press Alexander to recognise him as universal Roman emperor in return for the union of the churches. Even in the evocation of ancient imperial models, it was Barbarossa who took the initiative.⁴⁸ It seems to have been his, or rather his publicists', use of Roman Law which created the new vogue for Justinian, and the grand show of caesaropapism which Manuel put on at the Synod of 1166 must be seen in the light of some recent performances by Barbarossa, such as the Diet of Würzburg (May 1165) and the exhumation and canonisation of Charlemagne at Aachen (January 1166).⁴⁹

We should naturally be cautious of accepting the view put out by Frederick's propaganda that the Byzantine reaction was one of

47. *MGH, Diplomata*, x, 2, nos. 356, 367.

48. On Frederick's idea of *renovatio*, see Robert L. Benson, 'Political *Renovatio*: Two Models from Roman Antiquity', *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, edd. R.L. Benson and G. Constable (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), pp. 359ff.

49. The text of Frederick's privilege to the church of Aachen is in *MGH, Diplomata*, x, 2, no. 502, with which cf. also his charter to the clergy of Worms in September 1165 (*ibid.*, no. 492). These documents, with their insistence on following in the footsteps of illustrious imperial predecessors, stand out among Frederick's charters almost as sharply as does Manuel's edict of 1166 among other products of the Byzantine imperial chancery in the twelfth century.

panic.⁵⁰ But John of Salisbury, certainly no friend of Barbarossa, wrote in 1166 that the 'German tyrant ... struck the Byzantine Empire with such dread of him that it was sending embassies to offer surrender rather than alliance'.⁵¹ Kinnamos, too, characterises Manuel's position as defensive: 'it became of concern to the Emperor Manuel to restrain his (Frederick's) impetus, that he might not flourish immoderately and turn against the land of the Romaioi, over which he had long been casting a greedy eye'.⁵² Indeed, there is some reason to believe that what Manuel most wanted was a return to the old alliance between the two empires. In 1172 he suddenly reneged on a treaty by which his daughter Maria was to marry William II of Sicily.⁵³ This insulting action, which left William literally waiting at the dockside in Taranto, can best be explained in the light of Manuel's concurrent negotiations for Maria to marry one of Barbarossa's sons.⁵⁴ We can only speculate as to why these negotiations broke down. But it seems fairly clear that Frederick's interest in them became less keen once he had induced Manuel to call off the Sicilian alliance.⁵⁵

We have still not established, however, that Manuel's reaction to Barbarossa was appropriate. Was he not perhaps overreacting? Did he not perhaps exaggerate the Hohenstaufen threat? If the threat was real, did he not make it worse by pressing his own imperial claim? And if Barbarossa was the main priority, why did Manuel dissipate his resources in subsidising the crusader states and in undertaking costly, risky military adventures in the east, i.e. those of 1169 and 1176? To put it another way, is there not a basic

50. Cf. H. Watenphul, *Die Gedichte des Archipoeta* (Heidelberg, 1958), pp. 71-2; Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici*, Prologue, p. 9.; Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici*, iv. 86, ed. G. Waitz, *MGH, SRG* (Hanover-Leipzig, 1912), p. 345.

51. *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, edd. and tr. W. J. Millor, H. E. Butler, C. N. L. Brooke, ii (Oxford, 1979), p. 168.

52. Kinnamos, p. 228.

53. Romuald of Salerno, *Chronicon*, ed. C. A. Garufi, *RIS*, NS, vii, 1, p. 261.

54. Arnold of Lübeck, i, 2, p. 13.

55. See W. Ohnsorge, 'Die Byzanzpolitik Friedrich Barbarossas und der "Landesverrat" Heinrichs des Löwen', *Deutsches Archiv*, i (1943), pp. 118-49 (repr. in *Abendland und Byzanz* [Darmstadt, 1958], pp. 456-91), *passim* but especially pp. 129 (469) ff; Lilie, *Handel und Politik*, pp. 485 ff.

contradiction here: does not the attempt to deflate Manuel's imperialism and present it as a sober, consistent, pragmatic policy necessarily inflate Barbarossa's imperialism out of all proportion, and assume attitudes in him which we have discounted in Manuel?

Modern studies of Barbarossa have certainly brought out the conservative, limited nature of his *Kaiseridee*, with its key concepts of *honor imperii* and *sacrum imperium*, and the relative unimportance of his claim to universal dominion *urbis et orbis* compared with his desire to create, in Lombardy, the territorial domain which he could not achieve in Germany.⁵⁶ It is doubtful whether he originally intended to exercise more than a nominal suzerainty over the rest of Italy. Experience in 1155 had taught him that he could not expect the German princes to join him in protracted campaigns beyond the Apennines.⁵⁷ However, complications arising from the papal schism of 1159 obliged him to occupy central Italy and contemplate the invasion of the Norman kingdom, and by the 1170s his power base had shifted from Lombardy to Tuscany. Thus from 1159 Manuel was faced with acquiring a much more powerful western neighbour than the Normans had ever been.

In any case, we can go too far in playing down the rhetoric of twelfth-century imperial claims. It was, after all, an age in which men thought about their past and their future in universal terms.⁵⁸ Medieval imperialism, like certain '-isms' of our own day, took both a long and a short view: the short view could be very short, but the long view was very long, and the distant apparitions of Charlemagne, Justinian, and Constantine lent it great enchantment. Moreover, *renovatio/anakainisis* did not only look back; it also looked forward to the fulfilment of world history, in which the

56. In addition to the works cited above, nn.43, 48, see the studies of Appelt, Rassow, and others, reprinted in *Friedrich Barbarossa, Wege der Forschung*, 390 (Darmstadt, 1975), and G.Koch, *Auf dem Wege zum Sacrum Imperium* (Vienna, 1972).

57. Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici*, ii, 37, p.145; cf. also ii, 50, p.158 (=MGH, *Diplomata*, x, 1, no.163) for Frederick's assurance to Otto 'quod nec te nec aliquem principum nostrorum montem Apenninum transire cogemus'.

58. P.Classen, 'Res Gestae, Universal History, Apocalypse', in Benson and Constable, *Renaissance and Renewal*, pp.387-417.

Roman empire was prophesied an important role. The line between prophecy and policy was very fine. Of particular relevance at the time of the crusades was the Pseudo-Methodian prophecy about the Last Roman Emperor who would go to Jerusalem, defeat the infidel, and lay down his crown, thus preparing the way for the coming of Antichrist and the Second Coming of Christ.⁵⁹ In Byzantium, the prophecy seems to have been applied to Alexios I, and one can perhaps detect its influence on John II.⁶⁰ Michael Glykas, writing under Manuel, was evidently aware of its existence.⁶¹ In the West, Benzo of Alba had cast Henry IV in the role of Last Emperor, predicting that on his way to Jerusalem he would be crowned in 'Byzas' city'.⁶² A Sibylline text circulating in France before the Second Crusade promised Louis VII 'a triumph over the entire orient' that would involve 'the storming of Constantinople and Babylon'.⁶³ It is hard to believe that Conrad III was not the object of similar speculation among Germans, and there are perhaps some hints of *Endkaiserglaube* in his behaviour while on crusade. The fact that Conrad turned out not to be the last emperor made it possible for Barbarossa's propagandists to use the motif. One of the fullest statements of his imperial ideal is the *Play of*

59. See in general Paul J. Alexander, 'Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs: the legend of the last Roman Emperor', *Medievalia et Humanistica*, N.S. ii (1971), pp.47-68a (repr. in *Religious and Political History and Thought in the Byzantine Empire* [London, 1978], no.xii). Cf. also *idem*, 'The Diffusion of Byzantine Apocalypses in the Medieval West and the Beginnings of Joachimism', *Prophecy and Millenarianism. Essays in Honour of Marjorie Reeves*, ed. A. Williams (London, 1980), pp.55ff.

60. Zonaras, iii (Bonn ed.), p.760: καὶ τινες μοναχοὶ προὔλεγον αὐτῷ μὴ ἄλλως ἐκλιπεῖν εἰ μὴ πρότερον πρὸς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀφίκηται εἰς προσκύνησιν τοῦ ζωηφόρου τάφου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ὅπου καὶ τὸ διάδημα αὐτὸν ἀποθέσθαι μέλλειν ἐχρησμολόγουν. John II's unfulfilled vow to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre during his second Syrian campaign takes on added significance in the light of these remarks: Kinnamos, p.25 (cf. Marc.gr. 524, fol. 118r.: ed. Sp. Lampros, *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*, viii [1911], no.266); Michael Italikos, ed. P. Gautier, *Michel Italikos, Lettres et discours* (Paris, 1972), p.290; William of Tyre, xv,21.

63. Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici*, Prologue, pp.10-11.

Antichrist, the Latin verse drama written at Tegernsee about 1160.⁶⁴

The drama opens with the Roman (i.e. German) emperor asserting his authority over the kings of France, Greece, and Jerusalem, on the grounds that the whole world had once been *fiscus Romanus*, and that all should be subject to *iuri Romano*. But this is only the prelude to the main action, in which the emperor marches to Jerusalem, defeats the infidel king of Babylon, lays down his crown, and returns home as mere *rex Teutonicorum*, there to await the triumph of Antichrist and the final triumph of Ecclesia. The text may not prove that Barbarossa saw himself as the Last Roman Emperor, but it does suggest that he and his entourage saw his revival of the empire as leading to a crusade to end all crusades – a crusade that would succeed where the Second crusade had failed, because this time it would be led by the emperor as the undisputed head of a reunited Christendom. His imperial ideal was clearly inspired and justified by the crusading ideal. It was this, in the light of Byzantine experience during the Second Crusade, that made him seem so dangerous to Byzantium, and it was this, I suggest, that impelled Manuel to seek recognition as emperor in the West – so as to make the connection between crusade and empire work for him, rather than against him. Manuel's eastern policy then falls into place when it is seen as part of a coordinated public-relations campaign to persuade opinion in the West to look up to him as the effective and legitimate sovereign of all Christians in the east, who would look after the interests of the crusader states so well that a new crusade by the monarchs of the West would be quite superfluous.⁶⁵

We have thus answered the criticism that Manuel's ambition was excessive. But in doing so, have we not added to the criticism that his policy had an excessively western bias, and harmed native Byzantine interests in its efforts to accommodate westerners? Certainly, it would be idle to pretend that he did not welcome

64. K. Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford, 1933), ii, pp.371ff.

65. That the disastrous campaign of 1176 was essentially a Byzantine crusade has been recognised by Lilie (*Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten*, p.201). For 'holy war' propaganda in court rhetoric of the time, see Euthymios Malakes, ed. Bonis (as above, n.24), pp.527ff, 539-40, 557; Marc. gr. 524, fol. 37 v., ed. Lampros, *op. cit.* (above, n.60), no.92.

westerners, western contacts, and western ways to a great and unprecedented degree. We need only look at his pattern of marriage alliances. The marriages proposed or negotiated between Byzantine and western ruling families under earlier Komnenoi can be numbered on the fingers of one hand. Manuel, on the other hand, concluded ten such unions and proposed at least three others which did not come off. Most significantly, his own second wife was a Frankish princess from Antioch, a descendant of Robert Guiscard and Bohemond. He does not seem to have sought the connections with Russian and Caucasian dynasts that had been important to Alexios and John. His evident concern to keep the blue blood of the Comnenian *noblesse d'épée* untainted by indiscriminate intermarriage with the Byzantine *noblesse de robe* is a measure of his concern to maintain the value of imperial brides on the western marriage market.⁶⁶ The informal *bonhommie* and the eagerness to join in a joust which he affected in the company of western nobles was certainly calculated to make them feel that he was one of them.⁶⁷ He was convincing in the role because it came naturally to him, and was not invented out of political necessity. Even before his accession he had commanded Latins in Byzantine service,⁶⁸ and even before the Second Crusade he was engaging in reckless heroics just to impress his new German bride.⁶⁹ And it was not only on the level of dynastic relationships that Manuel showed himself receptive to the Latin world. The writings of the Pisan brothers Hugo Eterianus and Leo Tuscus indicate that the emperor genuinely enjoyed their company and valued their advice on religious matters.⁷⁰ The emperor's whole attitude is summed up in the remark

66. Cf. P. Magdalino, 'Byzantine Snobbery', in *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII Centuries*, *BAR International Series*, 221 (Oxford, 1984), p. 64 and n. 38. The connection between Manuel's regulation of court marriages and his foreign policy is made explicit in his Novel of 1166 on prohibited degrees: Zepos, *JGR*, i, 609.

67. William of Tyre, xviii, 25; Choniates, pp. 108-10.

68. Michael Italikos, ed. Gautier, p. 286.

69. Kinnamos, p. 47.

70. C. H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), pp. 213ff, still provides a good introduction. For more recent bibliography, see Sakkos (above, n. 21), and M.-Th. d'Alverny, 'Translations and

that he is reported to have made to Eterianus, that if the doctrinal dispute between the churches could be resolved, 'every Latin will find a peaceful and secure haven within the confines of our empire'.⁷¹

Latin writers like William of Tyre, writing in the aftermath of the massacre of the Latins in Constantinople (1182), may have exaggerated the extent to which Manuel had favoured Latins at the expense of his own subjects.⁷² However, there can be no doubt that his sympathies did cause internal resentment. Hugo Eterianus was almost lynched by the people of Constantinople for his influence with Manuel in the theological controversy of 1166.⁷³ The next year, Alexios Axouch, the half-Turkish husband of Manuel's niece, was arrested on charges which included conspiracy with the Seljuk Sultan and falsely accusing Manuel of wanting to destroy the Greek *tagmata* in the imperial army.⁷⁴ Reading between the lines of Kinnamos' account, one gets the impression that Axouch was in some sense the leader of an internal reaction against the western orientation of Manuel's policies.⁷⁵ In the last years of the reign, the dominant figures at court were Manuel's wife Maria and his nephew the *protosebastos* Alexios: the very two who dominated the regency regime after his death, and whose dependence on the Latins of Constantinople was the immediate cause of the 1182 massacre.⁷⁶

Yet, as in the matter of Manuel's imperial ambitions, there are further considerations to be taken into account. First, Manuel's westernising tendency was part of a global strategy which did not neglect the empire's eastern neighbours. Manuel's overtures to the pope in the early 1170s were balanced by friendly exchanges with

Translators', in Benson and Constable, *Renaissance and Renewal*, pp.431-3.

71. Dondaine, *loc. cit.* (above, n.19).

72. William of Tyre, xxii, 10.

73. A.Dondaine, 'Hugues Ethérien et le concile de Constantinople de 1166', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, lxxvii (1958), pp.480-1.

74. Kinnamos, pp.265ff; Choniates, pp.143-6.

75. Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer*, ii, pp.177-9.

76. See, in general, C.M.Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180-1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), pp.31ff; M.Jeffreys, 'Ελληνισμοί for Agnes of France', *Byzantine Papers, Byzantina Australensia*, i (Canberra, 1981), pp.101-115, especially 104ff.

the Armenian katholikos,⁷⁷ and the Byzantine clergy seem to have been less bothered by his efforts to promote church union than by his proposal, at the end of his reign, to modify the catechism for converts from Islam.⁷⁸ Of all the distinguished visitors to Manuel's court, none was more lavishly entertained than the sultan of Konya,⁷⁹ and it might have been in connection with his eighty-day visit in 1161 that Manuel built the Mouchroutas, the oriental pavilion adjoining the Chrystotriklinos.⁸⁰ Eustathios of Thessalonica sums up the emperor's policy very well in a passage where he compares Constantinople to a garden in which the emperor not only cultivates noble native breeds, but also transplants the best of every other land. If the western varieties are preferable, this is because their Christian faith makes them ready for planting in Byzantine soil, whereas the various descendants of Hagar have to be prepared with the holy water of Baptism, and grafted on to native stock, in order to lose their native wildness.⁸¹

Second, while Manuel favoured Latins on a temporary, individual basis, it is not so certain that he was ready to make major concessions. His coup against the Venetians in 1171 shows a concern to prevent them from becoming a law unto themselves within the empire.⁸² A letter of Hugo Eterianus written in 1166 provides a useful corrective to the assumption that the Italian

77. See R.-J. Loenertz, 'L'épître de Théorien le philosophe aux prêtres d'Oria', *Memorial Louis Petit* (Paris, 1948), pp.317-35 (repr. in *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca* [Rome, 1970], pp.45-70); E. Suttner, 'Eine "ökumenische Bewegung" im 12. Jahrhundert und ihr bedeutendster Theologe, der Armenische Katholikos Nerses Schnorhali', *Κληρονομία*, 7 (1975), pp.87-98; B. Zekiyan, 'Un dialogue oecuménique au XII^e siècle. Les pourparlers entre le Catholikos St. Nerses Snorhali et le légat imperial Theorianos en vue de l'union des Églises arménienne et byzantine', *Actes du XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, iv (Athens, 1980), pp.420-41.

78. Choniates, pp.213ff; cf. J. Darrouzès, 'Tomos inédit de 1180 contre Mahomet', *REB*, 30 (1972), pp.187-97.

79. Choniates, pp.118ff; Kinnamos, pp.204-8; Michael the Syrian, ed. J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* (Paris, 1905; repr. Brussels, 1963), iii, p.319.

80. See L.-A. Hunt, 'Comnenian Aristocratic Palace Decoration: Descriptions and Islamic Connections', *The Byzantine Aristocracy*, ed. Angold, pp.141-2.

81. Regel, *Fontes*, p.81.

82. Lilie, *Handel und Politik*, pp.489ff.

traders were invariably the exploiters in their relationship with the imperial government. Hugo complains of the activities of a new fiscal official, 'a ferocious oppressor of the unhappy Latins who are scattered throughout Greece'.⁸³ As for Manuel's overtures to the papacy, the only evidence that he was prepared to deviate from the 'party line' of the Byzantine church is the purported dialogue between him and the Patriarch Michael III. Darrouzès and Laurent have produced strong arguments for supposing that this text was composed a century later, at the time of the Union of Lyons.⁸⁴ It is certainly contradicted by another dialogue with a better claim to authenticity, that between Manuel and the Roman cardinals in the *Sacred Arsenal* of Andronikos Kamateros, which shows Manuel staunchly opposing the Roman primacy.⁸⁵ We know from Michael the Syrian that Manuel used his influence in Antioch to instal a Greek patriarch there.⁸⁶ Whatever he may have said in private, the public face of his union negotiations was thus impeccably orthodox.

Most importantly, Manuel was as much a symptom as a cause of westernisation in twelfth-century Byzantium. His mother was Hungarian, and he had been the main instrument of his father's policy with regard to the Latin world, groomed to marry a Frankish princess, to cement the alliance with Conrad III, and to become prince of Antioch.⁸⁷ The channels which brought westerners to Constantinople, and through which Manuel developed his western connections, were all open by the time he came to the throne. Byzantine society was permeated by western influences at all levels, and Manuel was by no means the only Byzantine susceptible to them.

83. G.Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città Toscane coll'oriente cristiano e coi Turchi* (Florence, 1879; repr. Rome, 1966), no.10. This man, whom Hugo calls 'Astaforte', seems from the account to have been a Jew from Hungary, and is the only attested example of a 'barbarian' whom Manuel promoted within the civil administration (see above, p.175 and n.10).

84. V.Laurent and J.Darrouzès, *Dossier grec de l'union de Lyon* (Paris, 1976), pp.45ff, 345ff (text).

85. See J.Spiteris, *La Critica Bizantina del Primato Romano nel secolo XII*, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 208 (Rome, 1979), pp.184ff.

86. Michael the Syrian, ed. Chabot, iii, pp.326, 329.

87. Kinnamos, pp.16-17, 22-3; Otto of Freising, *Gesta Friderici*, i, 24, p.127.

An eminent historian of the crusades has recently remarked that Byzantinists find it impossible to be objective in the matter of the attitudes of Greeks and Latins towards each other.⁸⁸ What he himself understands by objectivity is far from clear. Still, he has a point. We have been remarkably reluctant to probe beneath the surface of the massive superiority-complex projected by Byzantine sources of this period, and we are too content with the conventional wisdom that the more the Greeks saw and heard of westerners, the more they retreated into the shell of their own tradition, convinced that they had nothing in common with these stiff-necked, greedy barbarians, whom they could not even be bothered to identify correctly.⁸⁹ We inevitably quote Choniates' bitter condemnation of the outrages of 1185 and 1204 as the definitive statement of Byzantine attitudes; we are all familiar with his remark about Greeks and Latins being poles apart and separated by a great gulf.⁹⁰ Yet if we are going to use Choniates as our touchstone, we must pay equal attention to those passages where he adopts a western viewpoint (as in parts of his account of the Second Crusade), or praises individual westerners as examples of virtues which he finds lacking in Byzantine rulers. As was remarked earlier, Choniates does not criticise Manuel for admiring westerners; if anything, he implies that Manuel fell short of contemporary western models. Of course, his judgments are influenced, if not determined, by his theory of providential causation. However, his conception of Divine Providence is not entirely mechanistic; at times it comes very close to the belief that God helps those who help themselves. This can be seen in two passages where he implicitly compares the Byzantine and the western ways of doing things. In his account of

88. J.Riley-Smith, review of Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten*, in *EHR*, xcix (1984), p.148.

89. D.M.Nicol, 'The Byzantine View of Western Europe', *GRBS*, viii (1967), pp.315-39.

90. Choniates, pp.301-2; see Nicol, *op. cit.*, p.330, and A.Bryer in *Byzantium, an Introduction*, ed. P.Whitting (2nd. ed., Oxford, 1981), pp.103-4; but cf. also Bryer's sensitive – and as yet unsurpassed – 'Cultural Relations between East and West in the Twelfth Century', *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. D.Baker (Edinburgh, 1973), pp.77-94.

Alexios Branas' attack on Constantinople in 1187, he shows Conrad of Montferrat taking resolute, effective, practical measures, while Isaac II correctly, but ineffectually, pins his faith on the intercessory prayers of stylite monks.⁹¹ In describing the visit of some German ambassadors to the Byzantine court during the Christmas season of 1196-7, when they gave a performance of the *prokypsis* ceremony, Choniates draws a telling contrast between the Byzantines, on the one hand, expecting the Germans to be overawed by this display of imperial majesty, and the Germans, on the other hand, despising their hosts for believing that this effeminate fashion parade could be a substitute for military prowess.⁹²

In both these cases, Choniates goes far beyond the *topos* that God chastises civilised vice and rewards barbarian virtue; he implies that the Byzantines fail not because they are sinful, because they break their traditional rules, but because they rely on the power of tradition – on the ritual motions of prayer and ceremonial – to produce results which westerners achieve by ruthlessly seizing the initiative.

To what extent can these passages be considered representative of twelfth century Byzantine attitudes? On the one hand we can point to remarks by Eustathios, Balsamon, and Michael Choniates which show respect for certain western institutions.⁹³ We can also point to ways in which the Byzantine ruling elite was moving in line with western developments. This applies not only to the emergence of feudal, courtly, and chivalric patterns in lay society, but also to certain ecclesiastical trends: the growing administrative importance of the patriarchal clergy; a new insistence on ecclesiastical liberty, a new interest in canon law; and a new fashion for Christological disputes.

On the other hand, the fact remains that positive comments on westerners and western ways are brief and rare compared with the volume and variety of patronising and hostile references.

91. Choniates, p.383; cf. P.Magdalino, 'The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century', in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S.Hackel (London, 1981), p.60.

92. Choniates, p.477.

93. For references, see my 'Aspects', p.344.

Moreover, it is very difficult to prove direct links between western trends and those in Byzantium which look similar but which can always be explained in terms of native needs, native values, and native models. In short, the final impression created by the sources is the same as the first: the Byzantines found nothing to gain and everything to lose by their increased contact with the West.

However, the sources do not tell the whole story. They are the end products of a process of refinement which may have been much more complex than they suggest. Lemerle has remarked that 'se représenter Byzance comme immuable pendant onze siècles serait tomber dans le piège qu'elle a elle-même tendu'.⁹⁴ To take Byzantine expressions of superiority and complacency at their face value may be to fall for another grand illusion which the Byzantines fostered as part of their political orthodoxy. In other words, their manifest superiority complex can perhaps be seen as an inferiority complex turned inside out and upside down by the same tricks of omission and inversion which imperial panegyrists were always having to employ. Twelfth-century Byzantines had a strong sense of patriotism, if not nationalism, backed up by a highly-developed notion of *raison d'état*; as Odo of Deuil put it less charitably, 'In general they really have the opinion that anything which is done for the holy empire cannot be considered perjury'.⁹⁵ They also moved in a close, competitive, paranoid atmosphere where they were continually on their guard, both collectively, against outsiders, and individually, against each other, ever ready to denounce or be denounced. It was not a climate in which one could easily express sympathy for westerners or admit one's debt to them. The doctrinal controversy of 1166 gives us an insight into the ways things worked. It is clear that Demetrios of Lampe, who stirred up the crisis, was introducing to Byzantium a western scholastic dispute, in which he represented the school of Gerhoh of Reichersberg against that of Gilbert of Poitiers. But it is also clear that he did so in such a way as to conceal all trace of his own western affinities, and to pass himself off as the champion of native orthodoxy against a heterodox

94. P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977), p.251.

95. Ed. Berry, pp.56-7.

opinion current in western Europe. What started as an informal palace debate turned into a major public issue when Demetrios rallied the whole clergy and people of Constantinople to his cause, playing on their hostility against the Latins in order to discredit Hugo Eterianus, who followed the Gilbertian school, and who enjoyed the emperor's confidence as a semi-official spokesman of the Roman church. Manuel was evidently determined to vindicate Hugo's position, probably because he thought that this would help him in his negotiations with Pope Alexander III. Yet he could do so only by treating the whole matter as a purely internal controversy, to be decided in council by the Byzantine church, with some help from himself, on the basis of Greek patristic authority. Not surprisingly, therefore, the synodal record contains no reference to the western factor. We miss the point of the episode if we conclude, that there was no significant connection between the western and the eastern controversies: what we see, rather, is the Byzantines on both sides busy effacing the western connection in order to justify their use of it.⁹⁶

Thus I would argue that Choniates' pro-western remarks, far from being unrepresentative of twelfth-century Byzantine attitudes, represent the tip of an iceberg whose true dimensions have been seriously underestimated. This is not to deny the growth of Lati-nophobia – merely to see it as the concomitant of a growing awareness that Greeks and Latins belonged to the same small world. Symptomatic of this ambivalence is the gradual rehabilitation in the twelfth century of the term *Hellene* as a name which a Byzantine intellectual could respectably use of himself. On the one hand, this usage implies that Latins, as non-Hellenes, are by definition barbarians. On the other hand, it tacitly admits that they too may be Romaioi. George Akropolites put it very well in the mid thirteenth century when he characterised the Greeks and the

96. In this, the conclusions of Sakkos (above, n.21) are more satisfactory than those of the otherwise exemplary study by P. Classen, ('Das Konzil von Konstantinopel und die Lateiner', *BZ*, xlviii [1955], pp.338-68), which appeared prior to the publication by Dondaine of an important new piece of evidence showing that Manuel *believed* Hugo to be representative of the views of Pope Alexander III (see above, n.73).

Italians as separate nations (ἔθνη) sharing a common, Roman heritage.⁹⁷ In the Middle Ages, as in modern times, it was by looking at the West, not by turning their backs on it, that the Greeks began to discover a national identity.

But it is time to return to Manuel, and to conclude by considering the criticism that however admirable his policies may have been in principle, or in the short term, their end result was to speed up rather than slow down the catastrophe they were intended to avert. Certainly, it is possible to see how many of his measures backfired. His munificent diplomacy failed to secure for Byzantium the friendship it needed – the kind that money could not buy – and only increased the lure of Constantinople for those who wanted to help themselves to its riches. The course of events in his last years and after his death suggests that he had misjudged both his friends and his enemies. He had alienated Venice and Sicily; Alexander III and the Lombards made their separate peaces with Barbarossa, and their flirtation with Manuel became no more than an embarrassing memory. When Barbarossa did go on crusade in 1189, he behaved far more responsibly than any crusading leader before him, after some initial friction which can be put down to Byzantine paranoia. When the storm finally broke, it came not from the German empire, but from the very elements which Manuel had befriended: the French nobility, the Italian merchants, and the House of Montferrat.⁹⁸ Indeed, it might be said that the death of Henry VI in 1197 confirmed for the West what the death of Manuel in 1180 had already confirmed for the east – that the whole notion of universal empire was out of date. But this is to speak with a great deal of hindsight. Before 1180 it would have taken an exceptionally clair-

97. *Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg (Leipzig, 1903; rev. ed. Stuttgart, 1978), ii, p. 64. According to the *lemma*, this work was written during the author's period of captivity in Epiros (1258-9), and should not therefore be connected with the Union of Lyons, of which Acropolites was a principal agent. The passage shows that the notion of Greeks and Latins as 'nations' was not the fourteenth-century brain child of Demetrios Kydones, as claimed by D. M. Nicol, *Church and Society in the Last Centuries of Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1979), p. 81.

98. As noted by P. Classen, 'La politica di Manuele Comneno tra Federico Barbarossa e le città italiane', *Popolo e Stato in Italia nell'età di Federico Barbarossa* (Turin, 1968), pp. 278-9.

voyant mind to predict that the future did not lie with one empire or the other. In the mid twelfth century, the imperial ideal had been one of the vital currents of the age, drawing on all the other vital currents of religious revival, feudalism, chivalry, trade, literacy, and law. Manuel was moving with the stream, and his hopes of winning the race, or at least of staying afloat, were not altogether unfounded. William of Tyre could describe him as the most powerful monarch on earth.⁹⁹ His vision of a world in which Byzantium, from its rich, stable Balkan base, would direct and coordinate the western push to the east, was one that offered benefits to all concerned. The attempt to convert others to this vision by seducing them with luxury and largesse was not altogether ill-conceived: it surely made him a very attractive alternative to Barbarossa, whose fiscal extortion alienated his Lombard subjects. As the rise of the papacy proved, there was a demand for universal authority wherever it did not threaten local liberties: in this, Manuel had good reason to expect recognition in areas where he was not perceived as a threat. Moreover, Italians were not entirely deaf to the argument that the Roman inheritance belonged to Byzantium by right of succession, not the German barbarians, who claimed it by right of conquest.¹⁰⁰ In short, Manuel's vision was about as statesmanlike and constructive as it could have been. The trouble was that both the vision and its execution depended on him. Myriokephalon and the Peace of Venice were setbacks he could survive, but his own death in 1180, leaving a young son of eleven, was not a contingency for which he could plan. The writer of the Genoese Annals was not exaggerating when he characterised Manuel's passing as an event 'whence all Christendom incurred great ruin and detriment'.¹⁰¹

99. xviii, 16, 32.

100. Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer*, ii p.142.

101. *Annali genovesi*, ed. L.T.Belgrano, ii (Rome, 1891), pp.14-15.

VII

THE VENETIANS IN THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE BEFORE 1204

M.E. MARTIN / BIRMINGHAM

The task allotted to me in this communication is to survey the development of Venetian political and economic relationships with the Byzantine empire in the years before the Fourth Crusade. Such general surveys of course already exist. One might mention the works of Thiriet and Brand, and articles by Borsari and Pertusi. I am very conscious too that what I have to say is provisional because I speak on the eve of the appearance of a substantial monograph by R.-J. Lilie devoted to relations between the Italian maritime republics and the empire in the twelfth century.¹ I have therefore attempted not so much a recapitulation of the principal stages in the development of Venetian-Byzantine relations as a discussion of some of the controversies which have arisen in the course of recent research. This entails, I fear, some lack of balance, for I shall pass briefly over some important landmarks and topics and spend a disproportionate amount of time on matters of dispute. I hope you will not think this tendency to linger on contentious issues is merely temperamental.

Before the twelfth century the evidence for Venetian involve-

1. F.Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au moyen âge* (Paris, 1959, and new edition, with revised bibliography, 1975); relevant chapters of C.M.Brand, *Byzantium confronts the West* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968); S.Borsari, 'Il commercio veneziano nell'impero bizantino nel XII secolo,' *Rivista storica italiana*, lxxvi (1964), pp.982-1011, and 'Per la storia del commercio veneziano col mondo bizantino nel XII secolo', *ibid.*, lxxxviii (1976), pp.104-126; A.Pertusi, 'Venezia e Bisanzio,' *DOP*, 33 (1979), pp.1-22; R-J Lilie, *Handel und Politik zwischen dem Byzantinischen Reich und den Italienischen Kommunen Venedig, Pisa und Genua in der Epoche der Komnenen und der Angeloi* (Amsterdam, 1984).

ment in the empire is desultory. While it allows some inferences to be drawn it affords few insights into the scale, regularity or character of Venetian links with the empire.

One controversy on which I shall not dwell is the sterile attempt to establish the precise moment when Venice achieved independence from the empire.² It seems clear that the view which Venetians and Greeks took of the independence of the former depended very much on the political needs of the moment and that *de facto* independence was attained long before the empire was prepared formally to concede it. What was important was the coincidence for long periods of Venetian and Greek interests in Italy and the Adriatic. Neither wished to see either the Lombards in the eighth century or the Franks in the ninth, in a position to dominate the lagoons; neither wished to see Dalmatian pirates free to prey on Adriatic commerce: both co-operated militarily to resist the establishment of the Saracens in the southern Adriatic, as later they were to co-operate against the Normans.³ Political links were expressed in the frequent exchange of embassies between Venice and Constantinople. At least seven Venetian embassies were sent to Constantinople between 807 and 991 and in the same period the Greeks sent at least five missions to Venice. Often the embassies afforded an opportunity to confer a new and more portentous title on the doge – Hypatus, Spatharius, Protospatharius, Patricius.⁴

The Venetians saw themselves as part of the Byzantine world. I allude not merely to such declarations as they are alleged in the *De Administrando Imperio* to have made to Pippin – ‘We want to be the subjects of the Roman emperor and not of you’⁵ – but also the

2. E.g., E.Lentz, ‘Die allmähliche Übergang Venedigs von faktischer zu nomineller Abhängigkeit von Byzanz,’ *BZ*, iii (1894), pp.64-116, who saw the attaining of independence as the deliberate policy of Pietro Trasdominico.

3. John the Deacon, *Chronicon venetum*, ed. G.H.Pertz, *MGH*, SS, vii, pp.16-19; A.Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum*, ed. E.Pastorello, *RIS*, NS, xii, 1 p.150; J.Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1904), i, pp.89-91; R.Cessi, *Venezia ducale* (ed. of Venice, 1963), i, p.234, n.1.

4. G.B.Monticolo, ‘Storia politica di Venezia sino al 1009,’ *Archivio veneto*, 25/26 (1883), pp.1-22; see also R.Guilland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines* (Berlin-Amsterdam, 1967), ii, pp.49-58, 101-2.

5. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik

persistent Venetian interest in, and reverence for, the history of the east Roman empire, an interest manifested, as Professor Grierson has shown, in the early Venetian chronicles.⁶ The iconoclast period scarcely disturbed this affinity; Venetian churches were dedicated to Greek saints and were enriched by Greek relics, their incumbents were sometimes Greek or at any rate bore Greek names; attached to some of the churches were *sinochagia*, lodgings for merchants, an adaptation of the Greek *ξενοδοχία*.⁷ The traffic was not all one way. In the second half of the ninth century the doge, at the request of Michael III, sent twelve bells to Constantinople and it was from this time, John the Deacon remarks, that the Greeks began to use bells.⁸ Besides the political and cultural links another important factor made possible the growth of Venetian commerce in the empire. This was the ready access of the Venetians to outlets in the hinterland which served as distributaries for the goods they brought from the east. Not only were the Venetian merchants able to compete with traders from Comaccio at Cremona but they were the principal vendors of fine textiles at the great fair at Pavia. By the tenth century the Venetians, like the Anglo-Saxons, enjoyed special privileges at the fair.⁹ Yet precise references to Venetian trade with the empire are sparse. At the end of the eighth century the *Liber Pontificalis* refers to Hadrian I's sending an envoy to Constantino-

and R.J.H.Jenkins (Washington D.C., 1967), c. 28, pp.120-1.

6. P.Grierson, 'Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors,' *DOP*, 16 (1962), pp.1-63.

7. John the Deacon, pp.15, 21, 23, 31, 36; Dandolo, p.142; G.L. Fr. Tafel and G.M.Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig, Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, xii (Vienna, 1856), i, pp.1-3; Cessi, *Venezia ducale*, i, p.145. See also Grierson and Pertusi, *op. cit.* For the *sinochagia*, *Chronica Gradensis Supplementum*, ed. H.Simonsfeld, *MGH, SS*, vii, p.45, but see the caveat of R.Lopez, 'Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire,' *Speculum*, 20 (1945), p.37, n.2.

8. John the Deacon, p.21; Dandolo, p.160. A twelfth century monastic *typicon* has the earliest reference I know of in the Greek sources to the use of bells, L.Petit, 'Typicon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d'Aenos (1182)', *Izvestija russkago archeologičeskago instituta v Konstantinopole*, xiii (1908), p.23.

9. *Instituta regalia regum Longobardorum*, *MGH, SS*, xxx, 2, pp.1452-3; John the Deacon, p.25; G.Luzzatto, *Studi di storia economica veneziana* (Padua, 1954), p.4; Lopez, p.37: however the evidence cited by Luzzatto belongs to a later period.

ple on a Venetian ship.¹⁰ A century later John VIII referred to the journeys of the Venetians to the east as annual occurrences.¹¹ In the tenth century the references, though still scattered, multiply. In the *De Administrando Imperio*, Torcello is a great market, one of several in the region.¹² In the middle of the tenth century the life of St. Gerald records an incident at Pavia: the saint displays a cloak and tells the Venetians how much it cost him in Rome; the Venetians are made to exclaim that in Constantinople it would have cost much more.¹³ The spontaneous comparison with prices in Constantinople, indicates the frequency of commercial contacts. Liudprand, on his first embassy to Constantinople, travelled both ways on a Venetian ship. His return voyage was on a *navis oneraria*, a trading ship of some capacity.¹⁴ In 960 the decree of Pietro IV Candiano prohibiting the sale of slaves to the Greeks, refers to the frequency of Venetian contacts with Constantinople.¹⁵ When Liudprand on his second embassy was questioned about his possession of purple cloth, a prohibited export, the bishop explained that harlots and showmen wore them in Italy as they could buy them from Venetian and Amalfitan traders. 'They shall do so no longer,' the Greek customs men cried, 'for if they are found they shall be beaten and have their hair clipped.' This, by the way, is not an outburst of anger, but a citation of the law, for such penalties are prescribed in the *Book of the Eparch* for the illegal export of cloth.¹⁶

The first great document on Venetian-Byzantine relations belongs to the end of the tenth century. It is the chrysobull of 992

10. *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne (Paris, 1886-92), i, p.490.

11. Cessi, *Venezia ducale*, i, p.282, n.4.

12. *DAI*, c.27, pp.118-119.

13. Odo of Cluny, *De vita S. Giraldis Auriliacensis Comitis*, *PL*, cxxxiii, col.658.

14. *Liudprandi Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana*, c.14, ed. J. Becker, *Liudprandi Opera*, *MGH, SRG* (Hanover-Leipzig, 1915), p.183.

15. Tafel-Thomas, i, pp.20-21; for other instances of Venetian-Byzantine contacts, see T.S. Brown's paper in this volume.

16. Liudprand, *Legatio*, c.55, p.205. The officials were not quite correct: the penalty prescribed is flogging and confiscation of goods (*Liber Praefecti*, iv.1, 8, ed. J. Nicole [Geneva, 1893], pp.27, 28). But it is easy to see how officials came to speak as they did, since for similar offences the punishment was to be flogged and shorn (*op. cit.*, vi.13, 16, p.33).

which has survived in a Latin version.¹⁷ I should like to consider some of its commercial provisions. First, at the request of the doge, the Venetians are to pay as in former times only 2 *solidi ad ipsum publicum pro karikatione de Abido*, to the customs officers at Abydos, and not the 30 *solidi* which had become usual. On departure the charge is to be 15 *solidi*, making a total payment of 17 *solidi* in all. Antoniadis-Bibicou understands this clause to refer to payment made not at Abydos but at Constantinople. This seems highly unlikely as the bull later refers to the customs officers at Abydos and the existence of a toll there is well attested in other sources.¹⁸ The bull seeks to restore former levels of payment, not to initiate a new tariff. How is it that the toll levied on Venetian ships had almost doubled? An edict of Anastasius I and Procopius both refer to the practice by officials of exacting higher tolls than were officially sanctioned.¹⁹ The continuance of this practice may well account for the Venetian complaints. A second problem is the difference between the tolls of two *solidi* on arrival and 15 on departure. A precedent for this is also to be found in the edict of Anastasius. There, Cilician merchants are to pay 15 *folles* on arrival but 24 on departure.²⁰ It is a much smaller difference than that between the 2 and 15 *solidi* payable by the Venetians. Presumably the difference reflects the greater value of goods carried by the Venetian merchants in comparison with the less costly cargoes of the Cilician coasters. This reduction of tariffs is a step towards the total immunity from taxation granted to the Venetians by Alexios I, but a comparison with the total exemption from tax granted to the

17. Tafel-Thomas, i, pp.36-38; A.Pertusi, 'Venezia e Bisanzio nel secolo XI' in *Venezia del Mille* (Florence, 1965).

18. H.Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Recherches sur les douanes à Byzance* (Paris, 1963), p.80, n.1; for the customs-post at Abydos, *ibid.*, p.91; H. Ahrweiler, 'Fonctionnaires et bureaux maritimes à Byzance,' *REB*, xix (1961), p.240; Procopius, *Anecdota*, xxv, 2-3; F.Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des östlichen Reiches*, i (Munich-Berlin, 1924), no.377; for the sigillographic evidence, G.Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin* (Paris, 1884), pp.196-8; G.Zacos and A.Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals* (Basel, 1972), nos.2138, 2173, 3080.

19. The edict of Anastasius is summarised by Antoniadis-Bibicou, pp.76-78; Procopius, *Anecdota*, xxv, 5-6.

20. Antoniadis-Bibicou, pp.78, 85-86.

Rus in the tenth century, though often made, is misleading, for that concession related to sales in Constantinople, not to goods passing through the customs post at Hieron.²¹

Secondly the bull of 992 provided that the Venetians should be answerable only to the *logothetes tou dromou* and that the privileges were only to be enjoyed by the Venetians themselves and not by others such as Amalfitans, Jews or Lombards from Bari taking passage on Venetian ships. Much has been written about the exclusion of these groups. It has been variously explained in terms of the involvement of the first two in trade in contraband silk, in slaves, and in contact with the Saracens. The exclusion of the Jews has been seen as an extension of the disabilities already placed on the Jews by Basil I.²² However, it is probably best to see in these exclusions simply an indication of those peoples most active as traders in the empire and most likely to seek to exploit the Venetian privileges. The significance of the bull remains in dispute. While earlier scholars saw it as the foundation-stone of the Venetian commercial empire, Thiriet considered that it gave the Venetians no new privileges.²³ Perhaps the greatest advantage that it gave to the Venetians over their rivals was the simplicity of tolls and the unity of jurisdiction which it conferred. One has only to look at the acts of Patmos and the Lavra to see how formidable were the complexities of dues and administration with which merchants had normally to contend.²⁴

The century between the bull of 992 and that of Alexios I is ill-documented but the presence of Venetian merchants is recorded not only in Constantinople but at Dyrrachium, Modon, Thebes and

21. *Russian Primary Chronicle*, tr. S.H. Cross and O.P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p.65; for the customs post at Hieron, see, for example, Procopius, *Anecdota*, xxv, 2, 4.

22. The Jewish community in Bari was large and important: J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire* (Athens, 1939), pp.110, 150-169; A. Scharf, *Byzantine Jewry* (London, 1971), pp.94-95, 123. For Jews on Venetian ships, Tafel-Thomas, i, pp.5, 16, 25.

23. Thiriet, p.34.

24. G. Rouillard, 'Les taxes maritimes et commerciales d'après les actes de Patmos et de Lavra,' *Mélanges Ch. Diehl* (Paris, 1930), i, pp.277-289.

Antioch.²⁵ The next great landmark is the bull of Alexios I in favour of the Venetians. The date of its grant has given rise to an enormous literature. Only Latin versions of the bull have come down to us incorporated in the later concessions of Manuel Komnenos and Isaac Angelos. These versions have only A.M. datings equivalent respectively to A.D. 692 and A.D. 1092. Tafel and Thomas proposed a date of A.D. 1082 and this date was generally accepted.²⁶ In 1968 Frances argued that the bull should be assigned to 1084 while Tuilier argued that 1092, the date given in Isaac's version, is acceptable. In 1978 I also argued, but on different grounds to Frances, that the bull should be assigned to 1084. Very recently, Tuma has reviewed the arguments of all three of us but does not come to a definite conclusion, only calling for a closer study of the sources.²⁷ But the most significant evidence was missed by Frances, by me and by Tuma, although in fact it was published in 1955. It is a collection of documents belonging to the Zusto or Iusto family which was active in Constantinople in the twelfth century.²⁸ One of these documents refers to the use by the Doge Dominico Silvo, in 1083, of the title Protosebastus, a title first accorded to the doge in the Alexian bull, which must therefore be earlier than 1084. Borsari drew attention to this point in 1970.²⁹ Tuilier was aware of the Zusto documents and their significance in this respect and it seems to me incomprehensible that he should have dismissed it so lightly as he does. There are in any case irrefutable grounds for

25. R.Morozzo della Rocca and A.Lombardo, *Documenti del commercio veneziano* (Turin, 1940), nos.2, 7, 11, 12, 13 (cited henceforth as Morozzo-Lombardo, *Documenti*).

26. Tafel-Thomas, i, pp.51-54.

27. E.Frances, 'Alexis Comnène et les privilèges octroyées à Venise,' *Byzantinoslavica*, xxix (1968), pp.17-23; A.Tuilier, 'La date exacte du chrysobulle d'Alexis Ier Comnène en faveur des Vénitiens et son contexte historique,' *Rivista di studi biz. e neoell.*, 14 (1967), pp.27-48; M.E.Martin, 'The chrysobull of Alexius I Comnenus to the Venetians and the early Venetian quarter in Constantinople,' *Byzantinoslavica*, xxxix (1978), pp.19-23; O.Tuma, 'The dating of Alexius's chrysobull to the Venetians: 1082, 1084, or 1092?', *Byzantinoslavica*, xlii (1981), pp.171-185.

28. *Famiglia Zusto*, ed. L.Lanfranchi, *Fonti per la storia di Venezia, Archivi privati* (Venice, 1955), esp. pp.6, 9.

29. S.Borsari, 'Il crisobullo di Alessio I per Venezia,' *Annali del istituto italiano per gli studi storici*, ii (1970), pp.111-131.

rejecting so late a date as 1092. It seems then, that we must return to Tafel-Thomas's date of 1082. Yet very considerable problems remain. As Frances and I both argued, it is extremely difficult to make sense of that date in terms of what is known of the political situation in 1082. In particular the evidence of Anna Comnena who places the bull after the battle with the Normans off Corfu, is not lightly to be discounted.³⁰ Moreover, the Venetian chronicles assign the bull to 1084.³¹ One possibility that might accommodate conflicts which cannot otherwise be resolved, is the issue of more than one chrysobull by Alexios which have subsequently been conflated. When in comparable circumstances in the 1140's Manuel sought Venetian assistance, he issued two bulls in quick succession. Similarly in 1187, Isaac II issued three chrysobulls each enlarging the concessions granted by its precursor.³²

But I must now pass from discussions of the date of the Alexian bull to consider some of its provisions, the interpretation of which has also occasioned no little debate. First, the Alexian bull made over to the Venetians certain properties in Constantinople. This has rightly been seen as the origin of the Venetian quarter. Too often however it has been assumed that from the first the Venetians were accorded a well-defined enclave within which they enjoyed rights of extra-territoriality. Such a view anticipates the position which the Venetians only attained much later. Examination of the bull itself, of its renewal by John in 1126, of the bull of Manuel and the account in the *Alexiad*, all lend support to this view of the Venetian properties as non-nucleated holdings only consolidated by Manuel in 1148.³³ According to Anna the most important provision of the bull was that which gave freedom of tariffs throughout the empire to the Venetians. Some 32 places are listed by name in the bull. Thiriet and others have remarked that the Venetians were still excluded

30. Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, VI, v, 10, ed. B. Leib, ii (Paris, 1943), pp.54-55.

31. The Venetian sources from Dandolo onwards imply or state that the bull was issued in 1084: Dandolo, p.217; G-G. Caroldo, *Chronica (Codex Marc. 128)*, f. 34; Pietro Iustiniano, *Historia*, ed. R. Cessi and F. Bennato (Venice, 1964), p.80.

32. Tafel-Thomas, i, pp.113-24, 179-203.

from the islands apart from Chios.³⁴ Such a view seems mistaken. The concession in the bull is not concerned with freedom of access but freedom from tariffs. Moreover, Corfu as well as Chios appears in the list and the presence of the Venetians on Lemnos and Crete is shown by Venetian commercial documents belonging to the years immediately following Alexios' concession.³⁵ Chios was of course important for its mastic and alum and the price of mastic had risen sharply in the eleventh century. The Geniza documents show that the import of mastic from Chios to Tinnis in Egypt was in the hands of Italian merchants.³⁶

It has generally been accepted that the absence from the catalogue in the Alexian bull of any Black Sea ports shows that the Venetians were excluded from the Pontos. Several years ago I queried this view and I still think the balance of probability is that the Black Sea was open to the Venetians.³⁷

The survival of some 500 commercial documents from the twelfth century together with the chrysobulls of John and Manuel Komnenos, and those of the Angeloi, provide the basis for a much fuller, if still very incomplete, picture of Venetian activity in the empire. In Constantinople itself the Venetian quarter flourished. From the first the administration of most of the properties was made over to the monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore whose trading interests in

33. M.E.Martin, 'The chrysobull', pp.22-23.

34. Thiriet, *Rom. vén.*, p.39.

35. Morozzo-Lombardo, *Documenti*, nos. 33, 56; Tafel-Thomas, i. pp.98-101.

36. Benjamin of Tudela, *Itinerary*, ed. A.Asher (New York, 1840), i, p.57; C.Cahen, *Makhzumiyat. Etudes sur l'histoire économique et financière de l'Egypte médiévale* (Leiden, 1977), pp. 69, 84, 95; S.D.Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society, i Economic Foundations* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1967), p.268; E.Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'orient médiéval* (Paris, 1969), pp.140-41.

37. M.E.Martin, 'The first Venetians in the Black Sea,' *Archeion Pontou*, 35 (1979), pp.111-122. In discussions at the Symposium Professor D.Jacoby argued that the omission of explicit reference to the Venetians after '... eundi ad matracham ...' showed that the Venetians were *not* admitted to the Pontos. While of course recognising that this is a possible interpretation of the text, I am still inclined to maintain the contrary both from the context and from the repetitions of 'et' in the relevant clause, 114 and n.3. Lilie has considered only part of my argument at this point, *Handel und Politik*, p.138.

the Aegean become very extensive in the next century.³⁸ The Venetian monasteries of St. Mark and St. Nicholas were also important as proprietors and administrators of properties, trustees for goods and guarantors for loans. The church of St. Akindynos was the official repository for weights and measures though their use was often leased on an annual basis to a layman.³⁹ After the enlargement and consolidation of the Venetian holdings by Manuel in 1148, a consortium of 7 Venetian laymen, one of whom had been ambassador to Manuel, paid 700 *perperi* for the lease of all the state property in Constantinople for four years.⁴⁰ The Venetian properties included several wharves on one of which stood a warehouse, and at least two *emboli*, in one of which moneychangers practised their trade. There were dwellings of several storeys and no fewer than three workshops for wax makers. This last is puzzling, for nowhere in the commercial documents is there to be found any reference to trade in wax. In 1189 the quarter was further enlarged by Isaac II who conferred on the Venetians the *emboli* and wharves of the Germans and French.⁴¹ The legal position of the Venetians *vis à vis* the Greeks was steadily enhanced during the twelfth century. In 1198 the bull of Alexios III dealt at length with cases involving Venetians and Greeks. Broadly, where Greeks were plaintiffs, Venetian judges heard the case and when Venetians were plaintiffs the case was heard in the imperial court. The provisions are very similar to, but slightly more favourable than, those which the Venetians had obtained in Tyre by the *Pactum Warmundi*.⁴² This is but one illustration of the way in which the Venetians used

38. Tafel-Thomas, i, pp.55-63, 98-101, 103-9, 137-9; A.Lombardo and R.Morozzo della Rocca, *Nuovi documenti del commercio veneto dei secoli xi-xiii* (Venice, 1953), nos. 8, 10, 12, 33, 34, 40 (cited henceforth as Lombardo-Morozzo, *Nuovi documenti*).

39. Tafel-Thomas, i, pp.67-74; Morozzo-Lombardo, *Documenti*, nos.245, 362, 371, 372; Lombardo-Morozzo, *Nuovi documenti*, nos.10, 23.

40. *Famiglia Zusto*, nos.23, 24.

41. H.F.Brown, 'The Venetians and the Venetian Quarter in Constantinople to the close of the twelfth century,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xi (1920), pp.68-88; Chryssa A.Maltezu, 'Il quartiere Veneziano di Costantinopoli,' *Ηθναυτοματαια*, xv (1978), pp.30-61.

42. Tafel-Thomas, i, pp.84-89.

their experience in one part of the Levant to modify or extend the concessions which they negotiated in others but adumbration of this important theme is beyond the scope of this present paper.

Outside Constantinople, Corinth and Almyros, in the Gulf of Volos, are the places most frequented by the Venetians though Almyros is not among the places mentioned in the Alexian bull. At Almyros the Venetians had a monastery and a stone built workshop. Other properties were leased to Greeks. Benjamin of Tudela noted the number of Venetian residents.⁴³ On Lemnos and at Rodosto, Corinth, Thebes and Adrianople, the Venetians also owned property.⁴⁴ Many commercial contracts involved both the empire and Egypt. The round trip, Constantinople – Alexandria – Constantinople, appears very often.⁴⁵ Voyages between Constantinople and Almyros were very numerous.⁴⁶ The journey from Constantinople to Corinth was sometimes undertaken by land, and combined land and sea journeys such as Constantinople – Dyrachium – Venice also occur.⁴⁷ It may be significant that the standard rate of interest on a sea voyage was normally 20% but the loan for terrestrial routes was sometimes at 17.5%.⁴⁸ Borsari, in a most interesting account of the translation of St. Stephen, points out how much capital was needed to finance these Venetian merchant ventures and how slowly Venetian penetration of the empire developed. No wonder that access to the Black Sea was not a matter of urgency. Borsari concludes that Venetian trade in the Levant was very much the province of the great Venetian families. He cites the constellation of aristocratic passengers who accompanied the relics of St. Stephen when they were brought to Venice. But the tone of the *Translatio* makes it clear that it was an unusual

43. Tafel-Thomas, i, pp.125-130; Benjamin of Tudela, i, p.49.

44. Tafel-Thomas, i, pp.98-101, 137-9; Morozzo-Lombardo, *Documenti*, nos.88, 94, 137, 166; Lombardo-Morozzo, *Nuovi documenti*, no.12.

45. E.g. Morozzo-Lombardo, *Documenti*, no.183.

46. *Ibid.*, no.54.

47. *Ibid.*, nos.110, 150, 403.

48. *Ibid.*, no.110. Luzzatto's association of high interest with high risk cannot always be accepted, for instances of loans at inexplicably low rates are sometimes encountered, e.g. nos.130, 132; Luzzatto, p.101; see also Borsari, 'Il commercio..', p.989, n.24.

feature of the voyage that the relics should have had so illustrious an escort. Moreover, many of the names in the commercial documents make only a solitary appearance and even some of the great mercantile families, as Borsari himself notes, were of humble or even servile origin.⁴⁹

Of the commodities carried by merchants the most frequently mentioned is oil. The provenance was usually the Peloponnese and some of the oil, as the Geniza documents confirm, was taken to Egypt. Two generations of the Falier family seem to have specialised in this trade and about half the contracts dealing with oil involve them. The monastery of San Giorgio on Lemnos was also engaged in oil production.⁵⁰ None of the documents I have seen refers to the import of oil into Venice but the decree of Ziani in 1173 makes clear the importance of oil in the Venetian economy.⁵¹ There can be little doubt that most of this oil originated in the empire. After oil, spices were the most frequently mentioned cargo. Cinnamon and saffron occur, but most references are to pepper. Other goods include almonds, raisins, cochineal and alum, the last always in connection with trade with Egypt. The Venetians transported timber, copper, iron and textiles, especially linen, to and within the empire.⁵²

The circumstances which led Manuel to attempt to strike a decisive blow against the Venetians in 1171 are too complex to be discussed in detail here. It is of some comfort to know that contemporaries were bewildered: the doge himself was baffled by the news that Venetians in the empire had been arrested.⁵³ I shall therefore make only a few miscellaneous points to which perhaps inadequate attention has been given previously. Firstly, in 1171

49. Borsari, 'Per la storia'.

50. Morozzo-Lombardo, *Documenti*, nos. 65, 67, 316, 320, 321, 331, 338, 358, 360, 361, 363, 456. Lombardo-Morozzo, *Nuovi documenti*, nos. 9, 11; Cahen, *Douanes*, pp. 227-230. Luzzatto's interpretation of no. 331 is erroneous, *Studi*, p. 96.

51. B. Chechetti, 'Le industrie in Venezia nel secolo xii,' *Archivio veneto*, iv (1872), pp. 211-257, esp. 220-1.

52. E.g. Morozzo-Lombardo, *Documenti*, nos. 62, 68, 84, 102, 118, 158, 192, 368.

53. *Historia ducum veneticorum*, ed. H. Simonsfeld, *MGH, SS*, xiv, p. 79; Dandolo, p. 251; P. Magdalino, 'The Phenomenon of Manuel I Komnenos', pp. 192-3 above.

Manuel was much stronger at sea than he or his predecessors had been. In 1122 the Venetians had ravaged the islands at will and in the 1140's Manuel could not prevent them from entering the Hellespont. By the late 1160's the Greek fleet was much stronger. In 1169 Manuel had been able to send 200 ships to Egypt and in 1172 he could muster 150 against the Venetians.⁵⁴ Secondly, Nicetas Choniates must be wrong in claiming that a reconciliation was reached between Manuel and the Venetians.⁵⁵ Between 1171 and 1175 some five embassies passed between Venice and the empire but, despite Choniates, no agreement was reached until the reign of Andronikos. A Venetian-Pisan treaty of 1180, just after Manuel's death, shows that Venetians and Greeks were still at war and as late as 1189 some Venetian property had still not been restored.⁵⁶ However, it is possible that some small-scale, unofficial commercial contact was resumed. A contract drawn up in Constantinople in May 1171, within weeks of Manuel's coup, astonishingly makes no reference to any untoward events.⁵⁷ Brand dates the resumption of trade and the re-occupation of the quarter to the end of 1183 and thinks that Venetian captives had been released in time to reach Venice earlier that year.⁵⁸ However, it is not possible to be sure for how long detainees had been free before appearing as parties to a contract. As late as February 1185 some Venetians at Thebes were still unsure whether peace had been concluded.⁵⁹

Under the Angeloi, payments of compensation continued and

54. Nicetas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1835), pp.208, 224.

55. *Ibid.*, pp.225-6; Thiriet, p.53 and n.2. Dandolo says clearly that it was Andronikos who ordered the release of the prisoners, p.266.

56. Brand, p.320, n.14.

57. Morozzo-Lombardo, *Documenti*, no.241. Thiriet, p.53, n.3 thinks the arrest of Venetians continued even to 1180, citing no.316, but the phrase 'illo iberno' is probably a reference to the events of March 1171. Thiriet, p.54, on the evidence of no.336, refers to the arrest of a Venetian merchant in Corinth in January 1183, but the document alludes to an event which had taken place much earlier, probably in Manuel's reign. Cf., for example, nos.338, 358 both concerning 1171.

58. Brand, pp.196, 320, n.14. As late as 1183, documents still refer to the release of prisoners, Morozzo-Lombardo, *Documenti*, nos.336.338.

59. Morozzo-Lombardo, *Documenti*, n.353.

Isaac confirmed and enlarged the old Venetian privileges.⁶⁰ His successor Alexios III has been credited by some with attempting to check Venetian power by turning to Genoa and Pisa. He certainly has a bad press in the Venetian chronicles but the chrysobull he finally conceded was the most comprehensive the Venetians had received.⁶¹ Nevertheless, the commercial documents of his reign are relatively few. The Venetians were now more concerned with privateers, with pirates and with their Italian rivals than with any threat from the emperor. The Venetian fleet which entered the Hellespont in 1196 was sent, not to coerce the Greeks, but to intimidate the Pisans.⁶²

The Venetian seamen who, centuries before, had upheld the authority of the eastern emperors in the Adriatic, were by the end of the twelfth century compelled to defend their own position almost on the waterfront of Constantinople itself.

60. *Ibid.*, nos.378, 380, 403; Tafel-Thomas, i, pp.179-203, 206-211.

61. *Historia ducum veneticorum, Supplementum*, p.93; Tafel-Thomas, i, pp.248-278.

62. Tafel-Thomas, i, pp.216-225.

VIII BYZANTINE ITALY AND THE NORMANS

G.A.LOUD / LEEDS

The student of the chronicles describing the Norman conquest of southern Italy can hardly fail to be struck by the hostility, and above all the contempt, which their authors showed for the native population of Greek birth. Geoffrey Malaterra, a Norman monk of Catania writing c. 1101, described them as 'a people more accustomed to softness and self-indulgence than to the study of war', and 'an always perfidious people'.¹ And yet, despite occasional instances of treachery on which Malaterra, writing the semi-official history of the conquest of Sicily, took pains to dwell, the inhabitants of Byzantine Italy found at the hands of their new Norman overlords not oppression or exploitation as much as, up to a point anyway, tolerance and protection. Under Norman rule Byzantine culture and institutions were adopted by, and permeated among, the conquerors. The Greek Church was protected, and in some instances encouraged. The society of Byzantine Italy did change, but it did so indirectly more than by the conscious volition of the conquerors.

First of all, let us define our terms. What was the Byzantine Italy of the early eleventh century with which the Normans came into contact? The governmental structure of the Byzantine province of

I have to thank Dr. Anthony Wright for his helpful comments on this paper.

1. Gaufredus Malaterra, *De Rebus Gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis et Roberti Guiscardi fratris eius*, i, 23, ii, 29, iii, 12, ed. E. Pontieri, *RIS*, NS, v, 1, pp.22, 40, 64.

Italy had been reorganised c. 975 into three themes. There was that of *Langobardia*, with its headquarters at Bari; *Lucania*, with its administrative centre probably at Tursi; and *Calabria*, administered from Reggio. But placed over the province as a whole was a new official, the catepan, with his capital at Bari. The three themes showed considerable differences. Langobardia had a largely Greek population in the extreme south, the Terra d'Otranto, but the northern part was almost exclusively Latin. Lucania was mixed in population, but with immigration from the south strengthening the Greek element (and indeed it was probably in response to this Graecisation that the separate theme had been set up). Calabria was largely, if not in the north exclusively, Greek.²

Those with some knowledge of the subject will realise that this last sentence has made rather a sweeping assertion, in view of the considerable debate which the population structure of Calabria has engendered between André Guillou and Leon-Robert Ménager. Procopius in the sixth century considered Calabria then to be a Latin province, and the late-antique epigraphic evidence suggests that he was right.³ Ménager is doubtful that it was ever fully Hellenised, and argues that insofar as it was, this was a relatively recent product of emigration from Moslem oppression in Sicily.⁴ He is right in that, for example, Cosenza was probably always a Latin see. On the other hand it may well have been the only Calabrian see still in Latin hands by the year 1000. We are very badly informed

2. A. Guillou, 'Notes sur la société dans le Katépanat d'Italie au XI^e siècle', *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, lxxviii (1966), pp.440-3, and 'La Lucanie byzantine: étude de géographie historique', *B*, xxxv (1965), pp.127-134. However, V. von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1967), p.104 suggests that Calabria may have been outside the catepan's authority.
3. Procopius, *History of the Wars*, with trans. by H.B.Dewing (Cambridge, 1919), v, 15, 22-4, p.154, contrasts the Calabrians, in the area 'called Magna Graecia in former times', with the first inhabitants north of the Gulf who were Greeks. For the epigraphic evidence, S.Borsari, *Il monachesimo bizantino nella Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale prenormanne* (Naples, 1963), p.16.
4. L.R.Ménager, 'La "byzantinisation" religieuse de l'Italie méridionale (IX^e-XII^e siècles) et la politique monastique des Normands d'Italie', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, liii (1958), pp.747-774, esp. p.770. A second part of this article, dealing with the Norman period, was published *ibid.*, liv (1959), pp.5-40.

about several of the other dioceses in northern Calabria, but we know for example that Malvito had been converted to the Greek rite by 983.⁵ A century later, by which time there was a Norman (or at least French) bishop at Malvito, there were still Greek clergy in the diocese, and early twelfth-century charters of Dukes Roger and William of Apulia mention Greek clergy also in the diocese of Cosenza.⁶ There seems in short little doubt that Calabria was largely Greek-speaking at the time of the Normans' arrival. In the north there were however some Latins. The foundation charter of the monastery of S.Maria, Mattina (in the diocese of Malvito) of 1066 lists 27 peasants belonging to the abbey, nearly all of whom have characteristic Lombard, not Greek, names. It is unlikely, given how recent the Norman conquest of Calabria had been, that their presence there was the result of new colonisation.⁷

In addition to the Byzantine province of Italy proper, some consideration needs to be given to the island of Sicily. Despite Ménager's suggestions, it is doubtful whether there was large-scale migration from the island to the mainland as a result of Moslem persecution in the ninth and tenth centuries. One would not deny that there were some who moved north. The hagiography of the time makes this clear. Certainly too there were occasional moments of tension, as at the time of George Maniaces's expedition to reconquer Sicily for the *basileus* in 1038, when the family of St. Philaretus the Younger moved from the island to southern Calabria. But, when the Normans first reached Sicily in 1061, the north-east of the island, the Val Demena, was largely Greek, and there were also some Greek Christians living around Palermo and Agrigento in the west, though perhaps not very many.⁸

What therefore is notable about Byzantine Italy at the time of

5. *Italia Pontificia*, ed. P.F.Kehr (Berlin, 1905-75), x *Calabria-Insulae*, ed. D.Girgensohn (1975), pp.87, 108-9.

6. *Recueil des Actes des Ducs Normands d'Italie (1046-1127)*, i *Les Premiers Ducs (1046-87)*, ed. L.R.Ménager (Bari, 1981), pp.220-1, no.63. F.Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, 2nd. ed. by N.Colletti (Venice, 1717-21), ix, pp.191-3.

7. *Recueil des Actes des Ducs Normands d'Italie* i, pp.65-8, no.15.

8. *Acta Sanctorum*, April i (Paris, 1866), pp.605-6. Malaterra, ii, 14, 18, 20, 29, 45, iii, 31, pp.33, 35, 39-40, 53, 76-7.

the Normans' arrival is its lack of homogeneity. Towns like Tricarico in Lucania and Taranto had a mixed Greek and Lombard population. At Taranto indeed there was the anomaly of a population where the Greeks were in a majority, and up to 1080 nearly all the surviving documentation is in Greek, but there was a Latin bishop and cathedral chapter.⁹ In the northern part of the theme of Langobardia, the border of which with the principality of Benevento tended to fluctuate, the widespread use of Lombard law was officially sanctioned, and at times local administrative practices reflected Lombard rather than Byzantine usage. At the end of the tenth century we find Lucera under the control of Lombard gastalds, appointed by a Byzantine military officer, the *exkoubitor* Theodore, who may have been in charge of the province of Italy for a time (since there is no record of a catepan in office in the early 990's). These gastalds were, amongst other things, performing duties normally done by imperial financial officials, and modelling their documents on Beneventan princely charters.¹⁰ Further south, at Bari, while administrative practices were more in line with usual Byzantine procedures, the personnel employed in this largely Lombard area were for the most part local Latins. Of 11 turmarshs recorded at Bari in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, 8 were Latin and only 3 Greeks. In the Bari area too Lombard law was frequently used. Thus in December 1045 the Catepan Eustathius Palatinus granted the revenues of the town of Folignano to a judge, along with the right to judge the inhabitants by Lombard law. This was, it may be noted, in reward for the judge's services in defending Bari against a recent attack of the Normans.¹¹

These administrative aberrations were paralleled by ecclesiastical ones. Most episcopal sees in Lucania, and all those in central and

9. V. von Falkenhausen, 'Taranto in epoca bizantina', *Studi Medievali*, Ser. III, ix (1968), p.149.

10. V. von Falkenhausen, 'Zur byzantinischen Verwaltung Luceras am Ende des 10. Jahrhunderts', *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, liii (1973), pp.395-406.

11. V. von Falkenhausen, 'Taranto', p.163. *Codice Diplomatico Barese*, iv *Le Pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari, Periodo Greco (939-1071)*, ed. F.Nitti de Vito (Bari, 1900), pp.67-8, no.32.

northern Langobardia, followed the Latin rite. The majority of the sees of the theme of Langobardia were however ecclesiastically subject to the patriarch of Constantinople. However the dioceses in the most northerly part, the area later known as the Capitanata, were part of the metropolitan province of Benevento, and were subject to the pope at Rome. The ecclesiastical provincial structure was to say the least confused. The dioceses in the eastern part of Lucania, Tursi, Tricarico, Acerenza, Matera and Gravina, were part of the province of Otranto, although geographically quite separate from the archiepiscopal diocese. Otranto was a see with Greek archbishops, but of its suffragans only Tursi had Greek rather than Latin prelates. Both this unfortunate and anomalous structure and the position of Taranto as an autocephalous archbishopric (at the end of the Byzantine period) had resulted from the reaction of the patriarch of Constantinople to the papal creation of the province of Benevento in 966, and the period of intense competition for the loyalties of the south Italian sees which had continued until the 990's.¹² The creation of the ecclesiastical province of Otranto was the counterpart of that of the theme of Lucania, an attempt to bind the newly and partially Hellenised area even more firmly into the Byzantine orbit. The jurisdictional dispute between Rome and Constantinople was reflected also in the chequered history of the see of Trani in northern Apulia, created, probably in 982, as a bastion of Roman loyalty; rapidly subjugated to the authority of Constantinople; then, by 999, united with the archbishopric of Bari, again under the authority of the patriarch; then by the mid-eleventh century, after the province of Bari had finally been acknowledged to be subject to the Roman jurisdiction in 1025, it became an independent autocephalous archbishopric. Finally, in the late eleventh century, when the ultimate Roman victory had been assured by the Normans, Trani became the metropolitan of a province. Thus the subjection of the province of

12. C.G.Mor, 'La lotta fra la chiesa greca e la chiesa latina in Puglia nel secolo X', *Archivio storico pugliese*, iv (1951), pp.61-2. A.Guillou, 'L'organisation écclesiastique de l'Italie byzantine autour de 1050 de la métropole aux églises privées', *Le Istituzioni ecclesiastiche della societas christiana dei secoli XI-XII, Miscellanea del centro di studi medioevali*, viii (Milan, 1977), pp.310-311.

Bari to Rome in 1025 was of considerable significance. Even as the Byzantine province of Italy was at perhaps its most powerful point, during the catepanate of Basil Boiannes between 1018 and 1028, the principle was finally accepted that ecclesiastical and political boundaries would no longer march hand in hand.¹³

Despite the tension between Rome and Constantinople there is little evidence for religious hostility on the ground. The spread of Greek monks northwards in the tenth century into Lucania was accompanied by their movement into the Latin area proper, notably the Terra di Bari and the area round Salerno on the west coast. At least four Greek monasteries in the vicinity of Salerno ultimately, between 1080 and 1100, came into the hands of the abbey of La Cava. One of these, St. Nicholas de Gallucanta at Vietri, had for some years been administered, while it had a Greek community, as the proprietary church of a family of Lombard counts. St. Nilus of Rossano had lived for some fifteen years in the late tenth century as abbot of a monastery at Vallelucis on the lands of Montecassino, with the full agreement and sanction of the monks of St. Benedict. Differences in religious practices had been recognised, but discussed amicably between St. Nilus and his Latin patrons.¹⁴

The arrival of the Normans and the violence which accompanied it naturally led to an increase in tension, at least in the short term. The will of a Greek abbot from eastern Lucania in 1041 referred to the troubled times and the invasion of the heathen. A Byzantine

13. *Le Carte si conservano nell'archivio del capitolo metropolitano della città di Trani*, ed. A. Prologo (Barletta, 1877), pp. 32-8, nos. 7-8. *Codice Diplomatico Barese, i Le Pergamene del Duomo di Bari (952-1264)*, ed. G. B. Nitto di Rossi & F. Nitti di Vito (Bari, 1897), pp. 21-3, no. 13. Mor, 'La lotta', pp. 62-4. See also C. D. Fonseca, 'L'Organizzazione ecclesiastica dell'Italia normanna tra l'XI e il XII secolo. I nuovi assetti istituzionali', *Le Istituzioni ecclesiastiche* (see note 12), pp. 332, 337. In the twelfth century the archbishop of Trani had two suffragan sees, Bisceglie and Andria. But when the province was organised is not very clear. Bisceglie had a bishop by 1071, but that of Andria is not attested before 1137, *Italia Pontificia*, ix *Apulia*, ed. W. Holtzmann (1962), pp. 307, 310.
14. S. Borsari, 'Monasteri bizantini nell'Italia meridionale longobarda (sec. X e XI)', *Archivio storico per le provincie napoletane*, lxxi (1950-1), pp. 1-16, esp. pp. 9-10, 15-16, and *Il monachesimo bizantino* (see note 3), pp. 58-60, 71-4, 132-3, doc. no. 4. *Vita S. Nili Iunioris*, PG, cxx, cols. 124-132.

official donating a church to the important monastery of SS. Elias and Anastasius of Carbone in 1061 recorded that the country round about had been seized and occupied by heathen hands, and everything come to ruin and chaos – probably referring to Drogo de Hauteville's capture of the Tricarico region a decade earlier. But complaints every bit as virulent were made in the Lombard principalities. It was the chronicle of the abbey of St. Vincent on Volturmo in the principality of Capua which compared the ravages of the Normans to those of the Arabs in the ninth century.¹⁵ And the sternest resistance to the invaders of Byzantine Italy came not from Greek Calabria or semi-Greek Lucania, but from Lombard Bari, the last bastion left to Byzantium in Italy, which surrendered to Robert Guiscard only in 1071 after a siege lasting more than three years.

The area most disrupted by the conquest must inevitably have been Lombard Apulia rather than Greek Calabria, if only because the conquest of Apulia took a generation, from the initial capture of Melfi in 1041 to the final conquest of Bari, while that of Calabria lasted little over a decade, from Guiscard's first intervention in the Val de Crati in 1048 through to the capture of Reggio in 1060. Indeed the submission of the Sila Grande and Aspromonte, the most Hellenised parts of Calabria, was achieved in only three years, 1057-1060.¹⁶ Despite the sufferings of the Calabrian famine of 1058 so graphically described by Malaterra,¹⁷ which marked a serious setback to the area's economic advance of the early part of the century, the toe of the peninsula underwent little long-term damage. In the one contemporary saint's life from Calabria, that of St. Philaretus the Younger (1020-1070), there is no mention of Normans at all; rather of the peaceful tending of gardens, flocks and

15. G. Robinson, 'The History and Cartulary of the Greek Monastery of St. Elias and St. Anastasius of Carbone', *Orientalia Christiana*, xv (1929), pp.138-44, no.2, pp.171-5, no.8. *Chronicon Vulturnense*, ed. V. Federici, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* (Rome, 1925-38), i, p.231.

16. F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile* (Paris, 1907), i, pp.118-21, 147-55, and for the siege of Bari, pp.186-90. Ménager, 'Byzantinisation' (1959), pp.10-12.

17. Malaterra, i, 27, pp.21-2.

horse herd.¹⁸ Furthermore the long-term benefit of the Norman conquest was the final cessation of plundering raids from Arab Sicily. Though after the death of the Aghlabid Emir Ibrahim II near Cosenza in 902 there had been no serious threat of conquest, Calabria had suffered the disruption of regular raids, and the burden of paying protection money to secure periods of immunity. There had been at least twelve major raids in the tenth century, and five more in the first thirty years of the eleventh. After 1060 there followed an unequalled period of domestic peace, lasting well over a century, disturbed only by some difficulty in the Stilo area in the early 1070's and minor revolts at Cosenza in 1090 and Rossano in 1093.¹⁹

When one considers the society which resulted from the Norman conquest one crucial factor must be borne in mind – the numerical weakness of the invaders. At the battle of Cerami, in Sicily, in 1063 Count Roger I had only 130 knights. The early invaders of Sicily were, it is clear from Malaterra's account, numerically inferior to those forces usually employed on the mainland. But on the other occasion when a contemporary source, in this case the *Annals* of Bari, gives figures for the size of armies, during the battles of 1041 in northern Apulia; those recorded, rather more than 2000 for the Norman army at the beginning of the campaign, and only 700 at its third victory at Montepeloso in September, hardly suggest a flood of conquerors.²⁰ There was a further wave of emigration to southern Italy in the 1050's, part of it in the wake of Duke William's victory over his opponents at Mortemer in 1054, and some newcomers continued to arrive till as late as the 1090's. But the Norman (or perhaps one should say French) presence in southern Italy was never that numerous.²¹

In these circumstances it was both politic and inevitable that the

18. *Acta Sanctorum*, April i, pp.608-11.

19. Ménager, 'Byzantinisation' (1958), p.758, (1959), pp.8-9. Malaterra, ii.44, iv.17, 22, pp.52, 96-7, 100.

20. Malaterra, ii, 33, p.43. *Annales Barenses*, a.1041-2, *MGH*, SS, v (Hanover, 1844), pp.54-5.

21. G.A.Loud, 'How "Norman" was the Norman Conquest of Italy?', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, xxv (1981), pp.13-34, esp. pp.17, 19, 24.

local population should have been left largely as they were. Neither in the Lombard principalities, in Apulia nor in the Greek-speaking areas were local landowners inevitably expropriated. In the vicinity of Stilo, an area on which we are particularly well-informed during the Norman period, the local Greek landowners are to be found seemingly unaffected by the Norman conquest.²² Clearly not everyone was so lucky – Norman landowners profited at someone's expense. But a subjective impression from the sources is that in central and southern Calabria the Norman pressure was lighter than in Apulia or in the principalities of Capua and Salerno, and in neither of these former Lombard states was there anything like a complete replacement of the native ruling class. Local officials, using a variety of titles, *strategos*, catepan, *praitor* (usually debased from their original significance), continued to be Greek in the Greek-speaking areas, as they continued to be Lombard in the Latin areas.²³ Roman law continued to operate where it formerly had, as did Lombard law in Apulia. In 1089, for example, the Norman count of Conversano in Apulia cited c. 18 of the law of King Liutprand to justify the confiscation of property.²⁴ The continued vitality of the Roman law tradition in Calabria was shown by the copying of texts in the second half of the twelfth century. To take two examples of this, one can cite first Paris, B.N. MS. Gr. 1384, copied in 1166, containing two local Roman law manuals from the ninth/tenth centuries, the *Ecloga ad Procheiron Mutata* and the *Procheiron*; and secondly Cod. Marciana 172, copied in 1175, containing a law of King Roger, written in Greek and promulgated in the Val de Crati in 1150, an epitome drawn from Isaurian legislation and the *Epanagoge* of Basil I, the *Farmer's Law*, the *Rhodian Sea Law*, and various miscellaneous material including a

22. V. von Falkenhausen, 'I gruppi etnici nel regno di Ruggero II e la loro partecipazione al potere', *Società, potere e popolo nell'età di Ruggero II. Atti delle terze giornate normanno-sveve, Bari 23-25 maggio 1977* (Bari, 1980), pp.142-4.

23. See especially L.R.Ménager, *Les Actes Latins de S. Maria di Messina (1103-1250)* (Palermo, 1963), pp.32-6.

24. *Codice Diplomatico Pugliese*, xx *Le Pergamene di Conversano (901-1265)*, ed. G.Coniglio (Bari, 1975), pp.113-5, no.49.

law of the Emperor Maurice. The surviving royal legislation, dating from the 1140's, was in turn heavily influenced by Roman law. Most of it indeed is little more than extracts from the *Code* and *Digest*.²⁵

Similarly, the influence of Byzantine, or more especially Greek, Italy was present in the central administration. Both the chief ministers of Roger II, Christodulus and George of Antioch, were Greeks. Roger II's chancery was primarily a Greek one, hardly surprising since his original dominions, Calabria and Sicily were (at least insofar as the island's Christian population was concerned) overwhelmingly Greek. Only after his acquisition of the duchy of Apulia in 1128 was a Latin section of the chancery set up, and not until the time of William I (1154-66) were the majority of documents issued in Latin, with the Greek chancery becoming an appendix for occasional use. The Greek element was giving ground generally to the Latin in the administration from the middle of the twelfth century, but it was still by no means negligible thereafter. Indeed Greeks began, for the first time, to be employed in the *diwan*, the royal accounting office, during the period when the Lombard Maio of Bari was chief minister (1154-60).²⁶ The administrative eclecticism of the kingdom of Sicily can be seen in practice from a document of 1171, drawn up on the orders of a royal financial official, to judge by his name (Godfrey) a Latin, but using the Greek title of *sekretikos*, and written in Greek, on behalf of a Latin monastery, S. Maria di Camigliano, which had been founded, perhaps by Guiscard himself, in the Val di Crati pre-1080.²⁷ The importance of the Greek dimension to government pre-1150 can also be seen from the comital and later royal itinerary. Before his

25. The *Ecloga* and *Procheiron* were both edited by E.H.Freshfield (Cambridge, 1927 and 1932 respectively). For the Venice MS. F.Brandileone, 'Il Diretto greco-romano dell'Italia meridionale sotto la dominazione normanna', *Archivio Giuridico*, xxxvi (1886), pp.68-71. On the royal legislation, O.Zecchino, *Le Assise di Ruggiero II. Problemi di storia delle fonti e di diritto penale* (Naples, 1980).

26. C-R.Brühl, *Urkunden und Kanzlei König Rogers II von Sizilien* (Cologne, 1978), esp. pp.21-3. E.M.Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily* (London, 1957), pp.33-55.

27. V. von Falkenhausen, 'Una ignota Pergamena greca del monastero Calabrese di S.Maria di Camigliano', *Rivista storica Calabrese*, NS i, 3-4 (1980), pp.253-60.

coronation as king 1130 Roger II issued only 9 documents in Palermo and western Sicily, as against 27 in eastern Sicily or Calabria (i.e. the Greek-speaking areas). And while after 1130 his itinerary was inevitably extended into Latin Apulia and Capua, he still issued 59 surviving diplomas in eastern Sicily and Calabria as against a mere 6 in western Sicily and Palermo. (The figures quoted here are those of von Falkenhausen).²⁸

How then did the Norman conquest change Byzantine Italy? To begin with, the provincial, as opposed to purely local, administrative structure was swept aside. Catepan and theme were replaced by the *camera* and rudimentary *scriptorium* of the Norman dukes of Apulia. The titles of the early financial officers of the counts of Sicily, logothete and protonotary, and the presence of a Greek with the title of *camerarius* in the early twelfth century, suggest that administrative continuity was high in the dominions of Roger I, but in Sicily this in turn argues Arab as much as Greek influence, particularly in the light of the highly Arabicized *diwan* at the core of the royal administration post-1130. The practice of compiling cadastral registers may have been derived either from Byzantine or Arab precedent, or indeed both. The *ad hoc* provincial administration of the early Norman period was replaced after 1135 by one more organised, but on largely western lines, and local justiciars and chamberlains were present in Calabria as well as Apulia and Capua.²⁹

How much all this would have affected the average Calabrian peasant, or indeed townsman, whose daily life would have been subject rather to his local *krites* and *strategos*, drawn from the upper-strata of local inhabitants, whose documents would have been drawn up by the local *taboullarios*, and activities regulated by the same law code as before the Normans came, is very doubtful. However two new factors would, one might suggest, have con-

28. V. von Falkenhausen, 'I ceti dirigenti prenormanni al tempo della costituzione degli stati normanni nell'Italia meridionale e in Sicilia', *Forme di potere e struttura sociale in Italia nel medioevo*, ed. G. Rossetti (Bologna, 1977), p.356.

29. V. von Falkenhausen, 'Ceti dirigenti', pp.339-45, 351-6. For Calabria, we may note two justiciars of the Val' di Sinni witnessing a legal case in 1144, Robinson, 'Carbone' (see note 15), *Orientalia Christiana*, xix (1930), pp.30-8, no.37.

cerned him very much.

The first is very much a matter of speculation on my part, and that is the status of the Calabrian peasant. The Calabria of the early eleventh century was a society of free peasant landholders rather than *paroikoi*.³⁰ And yet anyone reading the charters of the early Norman period can hardly fail to be struck by the long lists of serfs donated to the new Latin monasteries by the Norman nobility. The case of one of the most important comital foundations, Holy Trinity, Mileto, is instructive. In 1092 Robert de Bohun gave it property near Cosenza, and 12 'rustics' (I repeat the terminology of the charters themselves). The same year Robert Borellus, one of the leading counsellors of Roger I, donated 17 villeins and their families. An undated charter of Roger I himself (probably post-1093) confirmed, *inter alia*, over 70 villeins, and added that the abbey had the right to receive strangers to live on its lands, whether at Mileto or elsewhere, unless they were recorded in the *plateae* (that is lists of serfs) of other lords. In 1121 Drogo of Montalto gave 15 serfs to the monastery. In 1136 King Roger arranged an exchange of property between the cathedral of Cefalu in Sicily and Mileto, which included the cession of 38 villeins at Cefalu to the cathedral, and in return 39 villeins in Calabria to the abbey. Another charter of the same monastery, which purports to be one of Duke Roger of Apulia of 1092 or 1097, but may be a late twelfth/early thirteenth-century forgery, lists 200 villeins.³¹

Servile obligations on Greeks in Sicily may well date back to the Moslem period, and on Moslems either to the same period or to that of the Norman conquests – i.e. they were the descendants of

30. A. Guillou, 'Inchiesta sulla popolazione greca della Sicilia e della Calabria nel Medio Evo', *Rivista storica Italiana*, lxxv (1963), pp. 53-68, esp. p. 64.

31. L.R. Ménager, 'L'Abbaye bénédictine de la Trinité de Mileto en Calabre à l'époque normande', *Bullettino dell'archivio paleografico italiano*, NS iv-v (1958-9), pp. 27-8, no. 8, pp. 32-7, nos. 10-11, pp. 41-3, no. 13, pp. 49-51, no. 17. C.A. Garufi, *I documenti inediti dell'epoca Normanna in Sicilia, Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia*, Ser. I, xviii (Palermo, 1899), pp. 25-6, no. 11. L.T. White, *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily* (Cambridge, Mass., 1938), pp. 255-6, no. 14.

ex-prisoners *etc.*³² But it seems probable that in Calabria the Norman overlords reduced formerly free peasants to unfree status during and just after the conquest. What is so surprising about the presence of so many serfs in Calabrian charters is that servile obligations, while occasionally present, were relatively rare both in Apulia and in the old Lombard principalities. The relatively advanced agrarian economies of Campania and the Apulian plain compared to the relative backwardness of that of Calabria may perhaps be one factor to consider. But the phenomenon is one which needs further investigation, and in particular as to whether it was widespread, or limited only to certain parts of Calabria, for example where there was extensive ducal or comital property, or that of certain favoured nobles. Certainly my impression is, though it is one based on a fairly small number of charters, that there was little serfdom in Lucania, and given the physical similarity between the two areas this is not easy to explain.

The other aspect changed significantly by the Norman conquest was that of religion. Here a fair degree of unanimity has characterised modern scholarship. Whereas in Sicily, with a tiny group of Norman overlords and few or no Lombard immigrants in the early years, it was absolutely necessary to favour the Greek Church, in Calabria there was, it has been alleged, a deliberate policy of Latinisation, aided, so Ménager at least claims, by a reversal of the tenth-century trend, and the emigration of Greeks *from* the mainland *back to* Sicily. Hence there were more than 20 new Greek monasteries founded in Sicily in the time of Roger I, 14 by the count himself, in addition to the handful which had survived the years of Moslem rule, but by contrast only 4 Latin ones (all comital foundations). In Calabria on the other hand ducal and comital patronage was given to Latin monasteries, notably the ducal foundations of Mattina and S. Euphemia, and the comital ones of Holy Trinity, Mileto; S. Maria, Bagnara; S. Maria della Torre, and

32. *La Historia o Liber del Regno Siciliae di Ugo Falcando*, ed. G.B. Siragusa, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* (Rome, 1897), pp.144-5: 'Sarracenos autem et Grecos eos solum qui villani dicunter solvendis redditibus annisque pensionibus deputatos'. Cf. Ménager, 'Byzantinisation' (1959), p.21.

S. Stefano del Bosco. Greek monasteries were subordinated to Latin ones, and some were converted to the Latin rite. Thus Holy Trinity, Mileto, had at least 14 Calabrian dependencies by 1100. More important still, there was a deliberate Latinisation of Calabrian bishoprics, until only a minority were left in the hands of Greek prelates.³³

Certain qualifications might however be made to this outline. First of all, the process of Latinisation was relatively slow. Some sees may have been converted to the Latin rite in the immediate aftermath of the conquest. Tursi, for example, the one Greek see in eastern Lucania, was in the hands of a Latin bishop by 1065. There was a Latin archbishop of Otranto in office by 1067, though it may have been felt that the Terra d'Otranto, with its geographical proximity to the Byzantine empire proper, was a particularly sensitive area where Latin prelates were a necessary part of the preservation of the Norman regime.³⁴ But in Calabria the process was slower. At Reggio the see was Latinised in 1079.³⁵ At Cassano a Latin bishop first appears only in 1089, although the see was right at the north of Calabria, i.e. in the area where there was at least some Latin settlement, and the Greek bishop of Cassano had been one of the ringleaders in the abortive rebellion of 1059. The first Latin bishop of Tropea (he expressly called himself this in a charter) came in 1094, and at Squillace several years after that.³⁶ The see of Umbriatico was in Greek hands up to the mid-twelfth century. And at Gallipoli in the Terra d'Otranto, while a Latin bishop, Baldric, is attested in the early twelfth century (perhaps as a consequence of Bohemond's war with Byzantium of 1107-8), thereafter the see

33. Ménager, 'Byzantinisation' (1959), pp.10-40. White, *Latin Monasticism*, pp.41-5 suggests 21 Greek monasteries in Sicily in the time of Roger I. M.Scaduto, *Il monachismo basiliano nella Sicilia medievale, rinascita e decadenza sec. XI-XIV* (Rome, 1947), pp.80-143 discusses the evidence in detail and adduces two more pre-1101 foundations, S.Barbaro di Demenna and S.Maria di Massa, near Messina.

34. *Italia Pontificia*, ix, pp.409, 468-70.

35. D.Stiernon, 'Basile de Reggio, le dernier métropolitain grec de Calabre', *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia*, xviii (1964), pp.191-7.

36. Fonseca, 'Organizzazione ecclesiastica' (above n.13), p.339. Malaterra, i, 32, p.22. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ix, pp.426, 452.

returned to Greek hands; and indeed remained in the Greek rite until 1513.³⁷

Neither should we assume that because, for a variety of reasons, sees were being Latinised, there was not amicable co-operation between Greek and Latin members of the higher clergy. The last Greek bishop of Squillace was for example present in 1094 at the consecration of the Carthusian abbey church of S. Maria della Torre by the archbishop of Palermo, along with four Latin bishops.³⁸ Three Latin archbishops, those of Bari, Otranto and Brindisi, were present when Bohemond II, together with the (Latin) cathedral clergy of Taranto, entrusted a nunnery in that city to the care of Abbot Nilus of the Greek monastery of Carbone in January 1126. The Latin bishops of Cassano and Anglona were among the judges who decided a complicated legal case in favour of Carbone in 1144.³⁹ And in 1194 a Latin bishop of Tricarico commissioned a translation of the Life of the famous Greek monk St. Vitalis of Castronuovo.⁴⁰

Secondly, one might suggest that some of the pressure for Latinisation came from the papacy rather than the Normans themselves, at least insofar as the popes were above all concerned to secure the obedience of the south Italian episcopate to them, rather than to the patriarchs of Constantinople. Given the political claims of the Byzantine empire over southern Italy this was also very much in the interests of the new overlords. Thus the spur to the appointment of the first Latin archbishop of Reggio was the consecration of a Greek archbishop in 1078/9 by the patriarch in Constantinople. And this Greek claimant, Basil, a decade later recorded with disgust that his fellow Greek archbishops of Rossano and S. Severina had been allowed to keep their sees because they

37. The first Latin bishop of Umbriatico, Robert, appears in 1164 when he gave a charter to the Greek monastery of the Patiron of Rossano. Though his and his canons' signatures are in Latin, the text of the charter is in Greek, W. Holtzmann, 'Die ältesten Urkunden des Klosters S. Maria del Patir', *BZ*, xxvi (1926), pp.341-2, no.2 For Gallipoli, *Italia Pontificia*, ix, p.428.

38. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ix, p.425.

39. Robinson, 'Carbone' (1929), pp.257-61, no.28, (1930), pp.30-8, no.37. For the latter, see above n.29.

40. *Acta Sanctorum*, March ii (Antwerp, 1667), p.34.

had submitted to the Roman jurisdiction at the papal Council of Melfi in 1089. The papacy was not hostile to the Greek clergy as such therefore, provided that they were canonically obedient to it. But it was certainly disposed to interfere in southern Italy, not least to sort out the confusion of ill-arranged ecclesiastical provinces and autocephalous sees which had been the legacy of the tenth-century tension between Rome and Constantinople.⁴¹

Thirdly, there is no evidence of deliberate hostility towards Greek monks in southern Italy on the part of the Norman overlords. Because a Norman lord had submitted a Greek monastery to a Latin one, this does not necessarily mean that he and his family were therefore hostile to Greek monasticism. In 1088 Hugh of Chiaromonte, one of the most important Normans in Lucania, gave the Greek monastery of S. Maria Kyrozosimi to La Cava.⁴² But the Chiaromonte family were also the leading benefactors of Carbone, issuing six privileges for that monastery between 1074 and 1135.⁴³ Carbone indeed had quite a circle of Norman benefactors, including Bohemond II of Taranto and Richard the Seneschal, Count of Mottola, and his wife Alberada.⁴⁴ As late as 1173 a noble of French descent asked the abbot of Carbone to be enrolled in the monastery's confraternity and on its diptychs.⁴⁵ To the favour shown by the Chiaromonte family to Carbone one can add other cases. The lords of Cacciano in Lucania were benefactors of S. Maria de Pertusia, which was given to La Cava in 1121, but still retained the

41. See especially N.Kamp, 'Vescovi e diocesi dell'Italia meridionale nel passaggio dalla dominazione bizantina allo stato normanno', *Forma di potere* (above n.28), pp.379-397. Stiernon, 'Basile di Reggio', pp.189-226, esp.214-7. W.Holtzmann, 'Die Unionsverhandlung zwischen Kaiser Alexios I und Papst Urban II im Jahr 1089', *BZ*, xxviii (1928), pp.66-7.

42. L.Mattei-Cerasoli, 'La Badia di Cava e i monasteri greci della Calabria superiore', *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, viii (1938), pp.275-6, no.1.

43. Robinson, 'Carbone' (1929), pp.176-8, no.9 (1074), pp.200-6, nos.14-15 (1093, 1100), pp.262-72, nos.29-30 (1125, 1131), and (1930), pp.16-19, no.34 (1135).

44. *Ibid.* (1929), pp.220-1, 246-61, nos.18, 26-8 (1112, 1124, 1125, 1126), Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vii, pp.74-5 (1100).

45. Robinson, 'Carbone' (1930), pp.87-91, no.51.

Greek rite.⁴⁶ Roger II and his relations were generous donors to the monastery of the Patiron, near Rossano.⁴⁷ Above all, there was King Roger's foundation of S. Salvatore, Messina, and his grouping of almost all the surviving Greek monasteries in Sicily into a congregation under its archimandrite.⁴⁸

This is not to deny that there were instances of hostility between Greek and Latin clergy. The two early twelfth-century saints' lives which have come down to us from Greek Calabria both provide examples. St. Lucas, Bishop of Isola Capo Rizzuto, who died in 1114, had a dispute with some Latins in his diocese about the use of leavened or unleavened bread in the mass, and about the use of both bread and wine. He proved his case by many scriptural citations. 'But', says his biographer (and he was writing very soon after the saint's death), 'the Latins, interpreting the Scriptures in the manner of the Pharisees, administer the azymes in the manner of the Hebrews; impart baptism on all days, and not thinking rightly, fall into innumerable heresies'. The saint then had a Latin chapel miraculously struck by fire while he was celebrating mass inside it, and his preservation unharmed in the midst of the conflagration threw the Latins into consternation and fear.⁴⁹ The biographer of St. Bartholomew of Rossano, the founder of the Patiron, recorded how unjust accusations of peculation by two Latin monks of Mileto nearly led Roger II to have his hero executed. Whether the latter is really historical seems however pretty dubious, given the Sicilian ruler's considerable favour to the monastery. But one should note that the biographer does not blame the king for the incident but the monks.⁵⁰

46. F. Trinchera, *Syllabus Graecarum Membranarum* (Naples 1865), p.71, no.54 (1092), pp.82-3, no.65 (1098), p.84, no.67 (1099), pp.118-9, no.90 (1121), p.134, no.102 (1127).

47. L.R. Ménager, 'Notes et documents sur quelques monastères de Calabre à l'époque normande', *BZ*, 1 (1957), pp.334-5, no.1 (1118). Trinchera, *Syllabus*, p.138, no.106 (1131), both Roger II; Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ix, p.292 (1122), Mabilia, daughter of Robert Guiscard.

48. White, *Latin Monasticism*, pp.45-6. Scaduto, *Monachismo*, pp.180-192.

49. *Vita di S. Luca vescovo di Isola Capo Rizzuto*, ed. G. Schiro (Palermo, 1954), pp.106-8.

50. *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. viii (Brussels, 1762), pp.823-4.

What in the long run worked against the Greek church in Byzantine Italy after the conquest was not outright hostility. The Norman rulers proved on many occasions staunch friends. Thus even at the end of the twelfth century King Tancred provided revenues so that a lamp could be kept burning in front of a famous icon in Rossano cathedral.⁵¹ Rather it was the change in the demographic structure of Calabria and Sicily as newcomers from the north moved in to develop these areas during the twelfth century. Joined to this was the subtle process of acculturation (to use a vogue word among contemporary medievalists), and the inherent instability of Byzantine monasticism – as marked here as elsewhere in the empire, as can be seen from the careers of such itinerant holy men as St. Nilus of Rossano in the tenth century. Again and again in the sources one comes across deserted Greek monasteries incorporated into the monastic congregations of the great Latin houses, La Cava, Venosa, Mileto and Monreale. It may well be that already in 1130 the creation of the congregation of S. Salvatore, Messina, was intended to rescue and reorganise an already failing Siculo-Greek monasticism. The model was followed by similar congregations based on the Patiron for Calabria, Carbone for Lucania (in existence by 1154) and Casole for the Terra d'Otranto. And whatever the possible parallels with Mount Athos,⁵² these archimandrites were more akin to, and probably derived from, the Benedictine congregations so characteristic of southern Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They were guiding Greek monasticism into paths similar to those of the Latin world. The sort of unconscious pressure for institutional conformity which the new world presented can be seen from the journey of St. Bartholomew of Rossano to Rome in 1108 to secure a bull exempting his monastery from episcopal jurisdiction from Paschal II.⁵³ Cut off from contact with the heartland of the empire the rich patristic culture of the Greek monasteries of the south, so apparent

51. *Tancredi et Willelmi III Regum Diplomata*, ed. H. Zielinski, *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae*, Ser. I, v (Cologne, 1982), pp.80-1, no.33.

52. As argued by Scaduto, *Monachismo*, pp.188-9.

53. *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. viii, pp.819-20.

from the *Life* of St. Nilus, slowly withered. In later twelfth-century Greek charters debasement and Latinisms crept inexorably in.⁵⁴ The Greek church was on a downward slope. *But*, it was a very gradual one. In 1200 there were still seven Greek sees in Calabria – Rossano, Bova, Gerace, Oppido, Crotone, Isola Capo Rizzuto and S. Severina – as well as Gallipoli in the Terra d'Otranto. Two of these (Gerace and Crotone) were among the richer Calabrian sees.⁵⁵ Three sees, Crotone, Isola and S. Severina, were Latinised in the mid-thirteenth century, but the other five still adhered to the Greek rite in 1400, and the last of them, Bova, was not Latinised until 1573. Ultimately the Norman conquest unwittingly strangled Byzantine Italy. But the victim took a long time to expire.

54. A. Guillou, 'Grecs dans la Calabre latine au XIIe siècle. Une enquête sémantique', *B*, 1 (1980), pp.447-54.

55. Crotone had an annual income of 60 *unciae* and Gerace 60-80 in the late thirteenth century.

IX

BYZANTINE ENAMEL AND THE WEST¹

DAVID BUCKTON / LONDON

For Kurt Weitzmann, for his eightieth birthday.

The greatest obstacle to the study of Byzantine enamel is its renown. Histories of the medium give pride of place to Byzantium: Western enamel is seen as constantly dependent on Byzantine models,² Byzantine craftsmen being credited with the production of high-quality *cloisonné* enamel from the sixth century AD onwards.³

A noted authority on the subject has identified all Byzantine enamel as *cloisonné* enamel, inherited from ancient Greece.⁴ The enamel of ancient Greece, however, was almost exclusively filigree enamel,⁵ *cloisonné* enamel having been absent from the Greek

1. The first half of a paper read at the XVIIIth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 1984. The author is grateful to Mavis Bimson, Robin Cormack, Margaret Frazer, Philip Grierson, Anna Kartsonis, John Kent and Kurt Weitzmann for help with certain aspects of this study.
2. 'Mittelalterliches Email', in exhibition catalogue *Email: Kunst, Handwerk, Industrie* (Cologne, 1981), p.40: 'Das Email des Mittelalters ist über Jahrhunderte von einem grossen Vorbild, dem oströmischen Kaiserreich, geprägt. Hier beginnt die Kunst des Emaillierens nach Anfängen in spätrömischer Zeit in den Jahrhunderten nach dem Bildersturm zu blühen.'
3. Gérard Malabre, 'Géographie de l'émaillerie ancienne', *Métiers d'Art*, iv-v (1978), *L'email*, p.6: 'Le grand nom, c'est Byzance. Depuis le VI^e siècle jusqu'au XII^e, les artisans byzantins vont montrer leur talent en créant de splendides émaux cloisonnés.'
4. Klaus Wessel, 'Les émaux', in exhibition catalogue *Splendeur de Byzance* (Brussels, 1982), p.188: 'Dans les émaux byzantins, sans exception, est employée la technique - héritée de la Grèce antique - de l'émaillerie cloisonnée.'
5. Reynold Higgins, *Greek and Roman jewellery* (2nd ed., London, 1980), pp.24-6; David Buckton, 'Enamelling on gold: a historical perspective', *Gold Bulletin*, xv (1982), p.102; Jack Ogden, *Jewellery of the ancient world* (London, 1982), p.134. The other enamel technique common in the ancient Greek world

world since the twelfth century BC.⁶ Byzantium did indeed inherit its enamel from ancient Greece, but it was filigree enamel rather than *cloisonné*.

The distinction is real and important. Enamel, essentially, is glass heated to the point at which it melts and bonds with metal with which it is in contact. In filigree enamel the glass tends to be thinly applied, inside loops of filigree (fig.1), which is either wire of round section or metal strip set on edge. The enamel merely adds colour; if it is missing, the object is still acceptably decorated with filigree. In *cloisonné* enamel, on the other hand, the glass is topped up and refired until the cells of metal strip are completely filled; the composite surface of glass and metal is then ground and polished (fig.2).⁷ The enamel is an essential component of the finished product: without it a *cloisonné* plaque looks decidedly incomplete.⁸

A fundamental difference is that whereas, like filigree itself, filigree enamel is applied directly to the surface of a metal object, *cloisonné* enamel is made separately and mounted on the object much as precious and semi-precious stones are set.⁹

In *cloisonné* enamel the metal strips separate: they are internal, with enamel on either side, whence their name, *cloisons*, French for 'partitions'. Conversely, in filigree enamel the wires or strips surround: they are external, acting as perimeters enclosing the enamel, and usually there is no enamel against their outer side. In *cloisonné* enamel the strips produce a kind of honeycomb of adjoining cells inside a quite distinct metal container; in filigree enamel the filigree itself tends to create shapes isolated against a background of the surface of the object.

Four examples of Early Byzantine enamel should be critically examined in the light of these definitions. Two medallions, one in

was *émail en ronde bosse*, or dipped or encrusted enamel (Higgins, pp.24-6; Buckton, p.102).

6. Higgins (note 5), pp.24-5; Buckton (note 5), p.102; Reynold Higgins, *Minoan and Mycenaean art* (London, 1967), p.178 (fig.223).

7. Buckton (note 5), pp.103-5; cf. Theophilus, *De diversis artibus*, iii, 53-55, ed. C.R.Dodwell (London, 1961), pp.104-7.

8. e.g. *DOC*, II, no.144 (pl. LXVII).

9. cf. Theophilus (note 7), iii, 53, pp.104-5.

the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (fig.3) and the other in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (fig.4), are so closely related – technically and stylistically – that they must be the work of one craftsman.¹⁰ The bust embossed in the centre of the Paris example is widely accepted, on the evidence of a coin-portrait,¹¹ as that of Licinia Eudoxia, *Augusta* from AD 439 until about 462, giving a date which might also fit the Baltimore medallion: if the twin orbs on the latter represent the East and West Roman empires, it would have been made before AD 481, when the western empire finally came to an end.¹²

The medallions, usually considered early examples of Byzantine *cloisonné* enamel, in fact exhibit few of the characteristics of the *cloisonné* technique and must be classed as filigree enamel. The glass, like the filigree strip which surrounds it, is applied directly to the surfaces of the medallions. The strip surrounds rather than separates: even in the wreaths on the medallions, where the loops of filigree are most closely packed, the surfaces of the medallions can be seen in the interstices, with each leaf standing isolated, proud of the face of the medallion. That the enamel is not essential to the decoration is shown by the undisturbing loss of one of the colours from alternate leaves and petals.¹³

Much the same technique appears on a sixth-century pendent cross in the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine collection, Washington, D.C.(fig.5). Here the enamel seems originally to have filled the metal strip to the top, but, unlike *cloisonné* enamel, it has been

10. The two wreaths on the Paris example are each identical to the single wreath on the Baltimore medallion.

11. See Henry Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain* (Paris, 1892), p.218, no.2, for a coin in the British Museum with a portrait virtually identical to the bust embossed on the Paris medallion.

12. Parallels may perhaps be drawn with Late Antique commodity weights decorated with a prominent Latin cross and two imperial busts, which seem to date from around the middle of the fifth century AD. See David Buckton and Christopher Entwistle, *Late Antique and Byzantine balances and weights in the British Museum* (forthcoming).

13. The author thanks Jack Ogden for the observation that the empty cells once contained enamel of a different colour, which bonded or survived less successfully.

applied to the surface of the object itself. The motifs – in a mixture of gold strip and, significantly,¹⁴ round-section gold wire – were hard-soldered to the cross before being enamelled, a sequence absolutely characteristic of filigree enamel.

Typical of the filigree technique, too, is the way in which the metal strip encloses the enamel, taking the place of the container of a *cloisonné* enamel and creating isolated shapes proud of the surface of the object. There is a strip within the perimeter of each of the bird-motifs, but this serves as nothing more than internal drawing, defining the wing of the bird: from the evidence of the enamel which survives, it is doubtful whether these strips even separated different enamel colours.¹⁵ Unsurprisingly, the round-section wire used to complete the bird-motifs appears on the back of the cross as pure filigree, without enamel.

The ancient Greek antecedents of the Dumbarton Oaks enamel can be seen in the leaf-motifs in the corners of the cross: markedly similar motifs appear in analogous positions in ancient Greek filigree enamel.¹⁶ Much the same leaf-shapes appear in the corners of a second late sixth-century AD pendent cross in the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz, although here they contained cold-set convex colourless glass.¹⁷ The cross is, however, part of a necklace incorporating a medallion (fig.6) patently enamelled by the craftsman responsible for the bird-motifs on the

14. Whereas metal strip can be used in filigree or *cloisonné* enamel, round-section wire belongs exclusively to the filigree technique.

15. Similar internal drawing appears in the orbs and the cross of the Baltimore medallion and in the roundels at the top of the wreaths of both Baltimore and Paris examples.

16. e.g. in the corners of filigree enamel plaques flanking the Herakles knots of diadems.

17. Extant in one setting. One setting is completely empty; the remaining six are some two-thirds full of a white chalky substance which is likely to be sulphur (cf. Catherine Johns and Timothy Potter (edd.), *The Thetford Treasure* (London, 1983), pp.21,60,66, *passim*). The leaves at the ends of the filigree stalks on the medallion associated with this cross also contained cold-set convex glass, in this instance yellowish green in colour. It survives in two of the settings; in the third, enamel of the same colour – analogous to the white substance under the glass inlays of the cross – two-thirds fills the setting. The author thanks Katharine Brown for bringing the necklace to his attention and Konrad Weidemann and Gisela Clauss for many kindnesses in connection with its publication.

Dumbarton Oaks cross.

Here again the filigree technique was employed, the motifs – in a combination of round-section wire and strip welded to the face of the medallion before being enamelled – comprising isolated shapes proud of the surface of the disk. The back of the medallion is undecorated, but the round-section wire employed for the stalks of the plants and the feet of the birds appears on the reverse of the cross as pure filigree, repeating the $\Phi\Omega\Sigma/Z\Omega H$ acrostic on the back of the Dumbarton Oaks cross.

Not all the enamel attributed to Early Byzantium, however, is a type of filigree enamel somewhat misleadingly described as *cloisonné*. The enamel which undoubtedly more than any other lies behind the assertion that Byzantine goldsmiths were producing high-quality *cloisonné* enamel as early as the sixth century AD is that on the Poitiers triptych.

It is known from more or less contemporary sources¹⁸ that in AD 569/570 the Byzantine Emperor Justin II acceded to a request from Radegund, wife of the Frankish King Chlotar I, for a fragment of the True Cross for her Abbey of the Holy Cross, at Poitiers. A triptych presumed to have been made to house this fragment is known from a mid-eighteenth-century drawing (fig.7), and it has long been accepted that this triptych had been commissioned by Justin II as a fitting container for a very holy relic destined for a Merovingian queen.

The patriarchal – double – cross does not, however, seem to have made its appearance as early as the sixth century; it is first found on coins from the (second) reign of Justinian II (AD 705-711).¹⁹ If executed in *cloisonné* enamel, moreover, the medallions of saints on the wings of the triptych would be impossible to parallel before the ninth century, and difficult even then, since each was barely one centimetre in diameter.

18. Cited by Marc Rosenberg, *Zellenschmelz*, iii, *Die Frühenkmäler*, in *Geschichte der Goldschmiedekunst auf technischer Grundlage* (Frankfurt am Main, 1922), pp.18-19.

19. e.g. Philip Grierson, *Byzantine coins* (London-Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1982), pl.17, no.301. Rosenberg (note 18), pp.20-1, had already expressed doubts about the patriarchal cross appearing as early as the sixth century.

The scale of the medallions can be gauged from the size of the centrepiece,²⁰ which survived the French Revolution (fig.8). Parallels to the vegetal scrollwork of the *cloisonné* enamel of this centrepiece have eluded those who have sought to establish a sixth-century date for the triptych;²¹ the full colour-range of the enamel,²² however, is exactly repeated in enamels on the cross of Theophanu, an eleventh-century abbess of Essen, in the Ruhr, and technical and stylistic parallels can therefore be sought with greater confidence among eleventh-century works.

The cover of the Pericopes of Henry II,²³ dated by inscription to the years 1002-1014, bears *cloisonné* enamel evangelist-symbols with backgrounds similar in technique and reminiscent in style to the Poitiers centrepiece, with its single-strand scrollwork. The closest parallel, however, is in the background of Gabriel in an Annunciation on the eleventh-century bookcover known as the Pax of Chiavenna (fig.9).

Parallels for the range of enamel colours and for the style and technique of its surviving enamelwork therefore strongly suggest that the Poitiers triptych belongs in the eleventh century, where, of course, it is easy to parallel both the miniature medallions of saints, lost in the course of the French Revolution, and the patriarchal cross.²⁴

If, moreover, the eighteenth-century drawing of the closed triptych (fig.10) is compared with the Pax of Chiavenna (fig.11), a marked overall similarity is evident: both objects once shared the chubby cross, neither Latin nor Greek, and a design based on an oval but incorporating rectangular features.²⁵

Another *cloisonné* enamel object which has been dated to the

20. 53 x 52 mm.

21. e.g. Rosenberg (note 18), p.18; Peter Lasko, *The kingdom of the Franks* (London, 1971), p.74.

22. Munsell colour references 5 PB 3.5/11, 7.5 B 6/8, 7.5 BG 7/4, 7.5 R 4/10, 7.5 R 4/13, 5 G 3/6.

23. e.g. Peter Lasko, *Ars sacra 800-1200* (Harmondsworth, 1972), pl. 29.

24. cf. note 19.

25. According to Peter Lasko (personal communication), the evangelist-symbols on the 'Pax' are not in their original places. This does not, however, affect the overall design of the cover.

Early Byzantine period is a ewer at Saint-Maurice, in Canton Valais, Switzerland.²⁶ In fact, over the past 150 years the ewer has been dated to every century between the sixth and the twelfth and described as Alexandrian, Iranian, Sasanian, Islamic, Balkan, Avar, Carolingian, Milanese and either Venetian or Sicilian, as well as Byzantine.²⁷ It has never been published as Ottonian, and yet the colours of the translucent enamel on the ewer – emerald green, purple-blue and reddish purple – occur together pre-eminently on Ottonian objects, and an attempt to show that it started life the other way up as an Avar sceptre was illustrated by an Ottonian miniature of an Ottonian ruler with a – presumably – Ottonian sceptre.²⁸

The inspiration behind the principal enamels on the ewer may well have come from sixth-century Byzantine silks,²⁹ but these were hardly rare in Ottonian Germany. Close parallels in enamel, however, occur only in *Senkschmelz*, a development widely regarded as tenth-century, whether in Byzantium or the West, in which figures or motifs are silhouetted against metal instead of having backgrounds of enamel.³⁰

A fragmentary tenth-century crown from Preslav, Bulgaria,³¹ provides just such an instance, as does a tenth or eleventh-century brooch from Campana, now in the Musée de Cluny.³² The closest parallels, though, despite a difference in scale, occur in *Senkschmelz* plaques on the terminals of the cross of Theophanu, abbess of Essen from 1039 until 1058.

26. Lasko (note 23), pl. 22; Rosenberg (note 18), figs. 36, 39, 44-6.

27. Rosenberg (note 18), pp.22-3; Mehmet Aga-Oglu, 'Is the ewer of Saint Maurice d'Agaune a work of Sasanian Iran?', *Art Bulletin*, xxviii (1946), pp.160-1.

28. A. Alföldi, 'Die Goldkanne von Saint-Maurice d'Agaune', *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, x (1948), pp.1-27.

29. Rosenberg (note 18), pp.25-8.

30. David Buckton, 'Vorläufige Ergebnisse einer optischen Untersuchung des Emails der Krone', in: Zsuzsa Lovag (ed.), *Insignia Regni Hungariae*, i, *Studien zur Machtsymbolik des mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, pp.130-1.

31. Exhibition catalogue *La Bulgarie médiévale* (Paris, 1980), no.157; Totyu Totev, *Preslavskoto zlatno s'krovishche* (Sofia, 1982), fig.4.

32. Rosenberg (note 18), figs 51-2.

Besides general characteristics and their pose, griffins on the ewer (fig.12) and the cross (fig.13) share tell-tale details: wing-bars of roundels between bands, vegetal fronds (half-palmettes) within the line of back and rump, S-shaped rib-markings, and teardrop-shapes on the upper limbs. Lions on both ewer (fig.14) and cross (fig.15) have the half-palmettes on back and rump, the S-shape rib-markings, the teardrops on the limbs, and small roundels on body and limbs; in the tuft of each tail is a further round cell.

On the cross a *senmurv* shares a *Senkschmelz* plaque with a quatrefoil in the form of a lobed square (fig.16) close in design to larger-scale ornamental enamel on the ewer (fig.17). Even the plant separating the confronted lions on the ewer (fig.18) has counterparts on the cross (fig.19), with half-palmettes contained within broad curved leaves and with, on the axis, a lobed crest, a roundel, an inverted teardrop bordered above by a broad horseshoe, and a rectangular base enclosing round cells. Such remarkably close links with eleventh-century enamel militate strongly against any earlier date for the enamel on the ewer.³³

The sole remaining contender as an example of Early Byzantine *cloisonné* enamel is the Oppenheim or Fieschi-Morgan reliquary of the True Cross (fig.20) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for which there has been general acceptance, for over sixty years, of a date around AD 700.³⁴ There is, however, epigraphic and iconographic evidence to support a ninth-century dating of the reliquary.

The Virgin in the Crucifixion scene on the lid, for example, is labelled 'Theotokos', in place of the 'Hagia Maria' to be expected in a pre-Iconoclastic representation.³⁵ Engraved and nielloed scenes

33. The *Vollschmelz* of the ewer (fully enamelled backgrounds, instead of motifs silhouetted against the metal of the plaque) could be regarded as old-fashioned in the context of eleventh-century Byzantine enamel. This and the colours suggest that the enamel on the ewer is Western – byzantinizing rather than Byzantine: see David Buckton in *Jewellery Studies*, ii (1984-5), forthcoming.

34. Rosenberg (note 18), pp.32-8.

35. Anna Kartsonis, *Anastasis, the making of an image* (doctoral thesis, New York University, 1982), pp.122-8, where it is asserted that, as labels for representations of the Virgin, 'Meter Theou' and 'Theotokos' were introduced in the early post-Iconoclastic period.

on the underside of the lid are iconographically, stylistically and technically close to scenes on two other reliquaries of the True Cross, one of which, a nest of crosses from Pliska, Bulgaria, was found in a ninth or tenth-century context.³⁶ Ninth-century elements in the scenes on these reliquaries include busts of David and Solomon incorporated in the Anastasis (fig.21); the earliest dated appearance of this detail is in mosaic dating from the pontificate of Paschal I (AD 817-824).³⁷ Finally, St. Nicholas, who was almost never represented before the end of Iconoclasm,³⁸ appears on the Fieschi-Morgan reliquary.

Despite its Greek inscriptions, there are about the reliquary certain features which can be explained only by reference to Western *cloisonné* enamel, which enjoyed an unbroken tradition from Roman times until the Carolingian period.³⁹ Among these features are the 'shirt-pockets' seen on some of the saints,⁴⁰ the lentoid eyes of one solid colour, and the 'jug-handle' ears, also filled with solid colour, notably red.

One of the dated Carolingian objects with figural enamel is the famous gold altar in S. Ambrogio, Milan (AD 824-859), on the back of which are eight enamel medallions with female busts, all of which have red jug-handle ears (fig.22). Another is a burse-reliquary in the cathedral treasury at Sion, Canton Valais (AD 780-799). Although the enamel half-figures (fig.23) on this reliquary do not have red ears, their lentoid eyes are filled with one solid colour, which happens to be red, and books held in – or, rather, balanced on – hands veiled or concealed beneath garments are clearly the sort of model which was misunderstood and transmogrified into the 'shirt-pockets' on the Fieschi-Morgan reliquary.

Finally, the curved lower termination of the half-figures in the

36. Ludmila Dontcheva, 'Une croix pectorale-reliquaire en or récemment trouvée à Pliska', *Cahiers Archéologiques*, xxv (1976), pp.59-66. *La Bulgarie médiévale* (note 31), no.191.

37. Kartsonis (note 35), p.112.

38. Nancy Ševčenko, personal communication.

39. Buckton (note 5), pp.102-3.

40. e.g. the top two in the right-hand vertical border of the lid, St Luke and St Mark.

vertical borders of the Fieschi-Morgan lid suggests that they were copied from representations on medallions; the busts on the back of the Milan altar are the earliest examples of these in enamel and suggest that here, too, the models for the Fieschi-Morgan enamel were Western.

On surviving evidence, then, 'early Byzantine *cloisonné* enamel' is either not early, or not Byzantine, or not *cloisonné*, or – in one case⁴¹ – not even enamel. The *cloisonné* technique, for which Byzantine enamellers are justly famous, was imported from the West at the end of Iconoclasm, and the antecedents of Middle Byzantine enamel, which is almost exclusively *cloisonné* and largely figural, are to be found not – as has been supposed – in early or Iconoclastic Byzantium, but in Carolingian Europe.

41. Isa Belli Barsali, *Lo smalto in Europa* (Milan, 1966), pl.1 ('Arte bizantina del sec. VI, medaglioni in oro smaltati a cloisonné.' The object is in fact devoid of enamel, innocent of *cloisonnage*, and of twentieth-century manufacture.)

EASTERN INFLUENCE ON WESTERN MONASTICISM IN THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES.

MARILYN DUNN / GLASGOW

The eleventh and twelfth centuries saw the transformation and expansion of monastic life in western Europe. With the emergence of numerous new groupings and orders – Camaldoli, Fonte Avellana, Vallombrosa, the Carthusians, Cistercians and Grandmontines, the regular canons and many others – the so-called ‘Benedictine monopoly’ was broken. New trends in organisation and spirituality seem to develop: historians indicate a greater austerity and eremitic origins or lifestyle in many of the newer types of house. The exact nature of these changes and the reasons underlying them have been much debated in the last thirty or so years and explanations have been offered which range from discontent with the prosperous life of the older Benedictine monasteries,¹ to a reaction against the rise of towns and the circulation of money,² to a need for a more contemplative and affective monastic piety which could not be achieved in, for example, the strongly liturgically-orientated Cluny.³ But another suggestion has been proffered by a number of historians who believe that the change in western monastic life was

1. See, for instance, J. Leclercq, ‘La crise du monachisme aux XI^e et XII^e siècles’, *Bulletino dell’ Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo (BISI)*, lxx (1958), pp. 19-41; or N. Cantor, ‘The Crisis of Monasticism 1050-1130’, *American Historical Review*, 66 (1960), pp. 47-67.

2. Lester K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, 1978).

3. See Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother. Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1982), especially section II, pp. 59-81.

due, in part at least, to the influence and example of Byzantine monasticism, in particular the Greek monasticism of southern Italy.

The distinguished historian of monasticism, Dom Knowles, fixes the origins of what he calls the 'new monastic movement' in Italy around the year 1000 AD: he singles out St. Nilus of Rossano (c.910-c.1004) as one who helped to revive the memory of eremiticism and promote its growth in the west.

One of the first who revived the memory of the past was St. Nilus... A Calabrian by birth, familiar with the Greek fathers and monastic saints and himself of austere life, he visited Monte Cassino and Rome and ultimately founded the Basilian monastery of Grottaferrata... on the Alban hills... He was only one of the many disseminators of Greek influence at the time...⁴

The historian of the Cistercian order, Mahn, while stressing the spontaneity of the new monastic movement in the west, also makes much of the example of Nilus of Rossano and of other eastern ascetics in Italy in the tenth century.⁵ One of the most detailed developments of this theme has been made by Bernard Hamilton and Patricia McNulty who list numerous contacts between southern Italy and other parts of the Byzantine empire and the west:⁶ contacts with Greek monks such as Nilus of Rossano; contacts made through pilgrimage; and awareness of Greek traditions fostered by the existence of a few dual communities of Latin and Greek monks, the most famous of which is S. Alessio in tenth-century Rome. Hamilton and McNulty indicate the great austerity of Italo-Greek monks, their enthusiasm for the performance of manual work as part of the monastic round and their knowledge of the writings of the fathers of the church and conclude that:

As the eleventh century drew to a close, the Latin world was outwardly dominated by *magistra Latinitatis* but it was undoubtedly permeated by the *orientale lumen* which had been

4. David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 192-3.

5. J. -B. Mahn, *L'Ordre Cistercien et son Gouvernement des Origines au Milieu du XIIIe siècle (1098-1265)* (2nd ed., Paris, 1951), p. 26.

6. B. Hamilton and P. McNulty, 'Orientale lumen et magistra latinitas: Greek influences on Western monasticism (900-1100)', *Le Millenaire de Mont Athos (963-1963)*, i (Chevetogne, 1963), pp. 181-216.

brought to the west chiefly by Greek monastic settlers in the last two hundred years... This awareness was an important contributory factor in the formation of the new climate of religious opinion in the Latin church which found expression in the spiritual centres of Camaldoli, Cîteaux and the Chartreuse in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.⁷

The thesis of Italo-Greek influence on the spiritual formation of the new orders of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was given additional weight in the early 1950s when Dom Becquet of the abbey of Ligugé published his researches on the *Life* of Stephen of Muret (d.1125), the founder of the Order of Grandmont.⁸ According to his *Life*, Stephen, a native of the Auvergne, visited southern Italy in his youth, accompanying his father on a pilgrimage to the relics of St. Nicholas at Bari. There he fell ill, and remained in the southern Italian city of Benevento in the care of its archbishop, a Frenchman named Milo. Stephen became aware of Milo's admiration for a group of Calabrian hermits who had renounced money and possessions and all worldly things.⁹ Inspired by their example, Stephen went to Rome, where, after spending four years in the household of a cardinal, he obtained papal permission to found his own order. He returned to France and in 1076 settled on the hill of Muret near Ambazac in the Limousin where he lived for nearly fifty years as a hermit. As a charismatic and austere holy man he became sufficiently renowned to attract a number of disciples who formed the nucleus of what became, after his death, the Order of Grandmont.¹⁰ Here is apparently explicit and well-documented evidence of the impact and influence of Byzantine monasticism on the new monastic movement in the west in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 216.

8. Amongst a number of articles etc. on the Order of Grandmont, see especially, 'Les premiers écrivains de l'Ordre de Grandmont', *Revue Mabillon*, xliii (1953), pp. 121-37; 'Saint Etienne de Muret et l'archevêque de Bénévent Milon', *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin*, lxxxvi (1957), pp. 403-9; and his edition of the *Scriptores Ordinis Grandimontensis, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis*, viii (Turnhout, 1963).

9. *Vita Venerabilis Viri Stephani Muretensis*, c. vi, *Scriptores Ordinis Grandimontensis*, p. 108.

10. *Ibid.*, cc. xxxiii - xli, pp. 124 -9.

Yet the current acceptance of such evidence and ideas should not deter us from re-examining them. Considerable doubt may be entertained on a number of levels, particularly where the career and ideals of Stephen of Muret himself are concerned. Ever since the Bollandists and Maurists began to project a reverent but critical intelligence on to the study of hagiography, serious questions about the reliability of the *Life* of Stephen have been raised.¹¹ Subsequent generations of historians have sought to resolve the numerous problems posed by the text often to their own satisfaction but without any real degree of success.¹² In the first place, Stephen's application for papal approval of an order of his own is both anachronistic and surprising as the Order of Grandmont only grew up after his death; the subsequent forgery of a bull of Gregory VII does nothing to inspire confidence in the story.¹³ Even more noticeably anachronistic is the *Life's* statement that Stephen journeyed to Italy as a boy on a pilgrimage to the relics of St. Nicholas at Bari, before spending twelve years with Archbishop Milo in Benevento, four in the household of a cardinal, and finally settling at Muret in 1076. This would place the pilgrimage in about 1060: yet the relics of St. Nicholas arrived in Bari in 1087.¹⁴ The *Annales Beneventani*, composed in the twelfth century, record that Milo was Archbishop of Benevento from 1074 to 1075 rather than for the

11. Bolland himself composed the entry in *Acta Sanctorum*, February ii., pp. 199-213; Martène and Durand consider the problem of the *Life* of Stephen and the origins of Grandmont in *Veterum Scriptorum et Monumentorum Dogmaticorum, Moraliū Amplissima Collectio*, vi (Paris, 1729), preface, pp. viii-xii. Mabillon examines the areas treated by the Bollandists in *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, ix (Paris, 1701), preface, pp. xxxv-vi; and see also *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, v (Paris, 1709), pp. 62-3.
12. Particularly Becquet in 'Saint Etienne... et ... Milon'. The then Superior of the Order of Grandmont, Henri de la Marche de Parnac, published, in 1697, an anonymous defence of the *Life* against an equally anonymous attack on the authenticity of the Grandmontine tradition which had appeared in Paris in either 1696 or 1697: *Lettre critique d'un religieux de Grandmont à un de ses confrères sur le livre intitulé Les Moines Empruntez*.
13. *Vita Stephani*, c. x, p. 110; for the supposed bull, see *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, preface, pp. xxv-vi and for Mabillon's eventual rejection of it as being spurious, see *Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, v, p. 62.
14. *Vita Stephani*, c. iii, p. 106; *Acta Sanctorum*, February ii, p. 206.

twelve-year period suggested by the *Life*;¹⁵ and although we possess a synodal document witnessed in 1075 by Archbishop Milo, it is copied into Section Six of the *Liber Praeceptorum* or cartulary of the monastery of S. Sofia Benevento, a highly problematic text bound in the same codex as one of the three versions of the *Annales*.¹⁶ The congregation of hermits of Calabria so admired by both Milo and Stephen is never explicitly identified; and the story of Stephen's journey to southern Italy is told not once but twice: on the second occasion, Stephen recounts it himself to two cardinals who have arrived at Muret to examine him on his religious beliefs.¹⁷

15. Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4928, f. 6 r; Vaticanus Latinus 4939, f. 13 r. For an edition of the three texts which collectively make up the *Annales Beneventani* (the third does not cover the 1070s), see Ottorino Bertolini, 'Gli Annales Beneventani', *BISI*, xlii (1923), pp. 1-163.
16. The *Liber Praeceptorum* of S. Sofia fills ff. 26 r – 217 v of Vat. Lat. 4939. It is a cartulary in six sections, containing copies of documents relating to the monastery's property-rights and spanning a period from the eighth century to the 1130s. Entries in the main hand, however, only go up to 1119 and the copyist or compiler states (f. 26 v) that he is working in that year. A much-interpolated and corrupt version of the *Liber* appears in the *Anecdota Ughelliana* at the end of vol. x of F. Ughelli's *Italia Sacra* (2nd ed., Venice, 1722), cols. 525-47. W. Smidt, *Das Chronicon Benventani Monasterii Sanctae Sophiae* (Berlin, 1910) succeeded in separating the original texts of the *Liber* as it is contained in Vat. Lat. 4939 from Ughelli's text with its errors and mysterious additions. Smidt also sought to demonstrate the genuineness of the original by showing that the numerous corrections throughout the text represent changes from vulgar to a more correct Latin; but whether this can be taken as proof of its authenticity is open to question. Certain circumstances combine to raise doubts about the *Liber*, the *Annales* and the document supposedly issued by Archbishop Milo. Although the writer of the *Liber* states that he is working in 1119 (and the *Annales* of this codex, written in a hand very similar to that of the *Liber* are considered by E. A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana*, ii [Oxford, 1929], no. lxxxiv, to date to the same year) the appearance of the codex as a whole suggests a work of the mid-twelfth century. And although an 'original' of the Milo-document copied in Vat. Lat. 4939 exists – Vat. Lat. 13491 (Pergamene Aldobrandini), I, no. 23 – Franco Bartoloni (who does not appear, unfortunately, to have considered the implications for the *Liber*) has rejected it as being of dubious authenticity; see his 'Note di diplomatica vescovile beneventana', *Rendiconti dell' Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* (1950), ser. 8, vol. 5, fasc. 710, pp. 425-47. It is clear that a great deal of care is necessary when dealing with any Italian sources which might be expected to throw light on the *Life* of Stephen – and it is also clear that they do not confirm entirely the information it gives.
17. *Vita Stephani*, c. xxxii, pp. 121-2.

Despite these considerable barriers to credibility, the *Life* of Stephen of Muret has been accepted by historians. A 'dossier' has gradually been assembled on the career of Archbishop Milo of Benevento in an attempt to resolve the chronological problems which the *Life* presents. The composite picture of Milo which emerges is of a partisan of the Gregorian reform, perhaps the personal choice of Gregory VII himself, a former dean of Paris; but this picture is based on extremely shaky evidence. The dean of Paris identified with Milo of Benevento appears to have lived until 1078/9 and far from being an exemplary churchman was unfortunate enough to have had his sexual adventures and preferences satirised by the poet Fulcoie of Beauvais.¹⁸ Of Milo of Benevento we know little or nothing: nevertheless the latest editor of the *Life*, Dom Leclercq, who has performed the valuable service of separating the earliest version of the text from its later accretions, is satisfied that the anonymous author was simply 'ill at ease' with the details of his hero's youth.¹⁹ It must remain, however, a highly suspect text, especially as it was written in order to gain papal approval for Stephen's canonisation which was eventually achieved in 1189.²⁰

But should we still wish to test the hypothesis of Byzantine influence upon Stephen, there exist two Grandmontine texts which

18. For this composite picture, see Becquet, 'Saint Etienne... et... Milon'. A Milo became dean of Paris in 1071 and the next known dean, John, is first mentioned in a document of 1079. The 'White Book' or cartulary of the French monastery of S. Florent de Saumur identifies Milo Archbishop of Benevento with a dean Milo of Paris who intervened in the foundation of a cell of S. Florent at Dol de Bretagne (Archives de Maine-et-Loire, H 3713, f. 75), but this codex dates from the latter part of the twelfth century, by which time the figure of Milo of Benevento may have become known through the *Life* of Stephen. In any case, the document in question demonstrates that there was still a Milo, dean of Paris, in 1078 – three years after the death of Archbishop Milo of Benevento. For Milo of Paris's interesting and varied sexual career, see Marvin L. Colker, 'Fulcoii Belvacensis Epistolae', *Traditio*, x (1954), pp. 191-273, Ep. 19.

19. Becquet, 'Saint Etienne... et... Milon', p. 404.

20. Becquet, 'Les premiers écrivains', illustrates the process by which the *Life* was composed and augmented; see also his article, 'La première crise de l'Ordre de Grandmont', *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin*, lxxvii (1958-60), pp. 283-324 for the circumstances which led to papal intervention in Grandmontine affairs and Stephen's canonisation.

pre-date the *Life* and which might be expected to reveal traces of contact with Greek monks if it had taken place. These are a *Liber de Doctrina*, a mixture of Stephen's table-talk and sermons supposedly composed from the memories of one of his disciples and a pseudepigraphic *Rule*. The former seems to contain a strong suggestion of Byzantine influence as the *Rule* of Basil is commended as being of greater value than that of Benedict. It stresses the need for Stephen's disciples to lead lives of asceticism and self-mortification involving hard physical labour and isolation from the world, while the Grandmontine *Rule* contains sixty-five general prescriptions designed to institutionalise these principles.²¹

In view of the emphases on poverty and austerity in the *Liber de Doctrina* and of its recommendation of Basil over Benedict, it may seem foolhardy to argue against any trace of eastern influence on Stephen's thought but it is precisely the nature of these emphases which reveal the western background to Stephen's – and Grandmont's – spiritual formation. There is a close interpenetration of social and religious themes at certain points in the *Liber*: while it contains a specific injunction to avoid the world it sometimes trains its vision beyond the bounds of the religious community to explain some of the prevalent evils of the time and how to deal with them or avoid them. A sermon *ad milites* advises knights how to conduct themselves in a godly fashion, even in war: and this was a constant theme and preoccupation of western churchmen at the period.²² Similarly, usury, both legislated and preached against by the western church in the twelfth century, is condemned in several vivid and naive passages in the *Liber*.²³ The austerity of Stephen's community rested on the voluntary embracing of poverty – and

21. *Scriptores Ordinis Grandimontensis*, pp. 1-62; pp. 62-99.

22. *Liber de Doctrina*, c. lxiii (1) and (2), p. 33; Colin Morris, 'Equestris Ordo: chivalry as a vocation in the twelfth century', *Studies in Church History*, 15 (1978), pp. 87-96.

23. *Liber de Doctrina*, c. lx, pp. 31-2. For the attitude of the church to usury, see, J. Gilchrist, *The Church and Economic Activity in the Middle Ages* (London, 1969); J. T. Noonan, *The Scholastic Analysis of Usury* (Cambridge, Mass., 1957); J. W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes and Merchants: the social views of Peter the Chanter and his circle* (2 vols, Princeton, 1970), i, c. 14, ii, c. 15.

poverty is one of the most characteristic distinguishing marks of early Grandmontine spirituality.

The opening chapter of the *Liber de Doctrina* evokes the gospel as the supreme rule and the idea of voluntary renunciation of goods and the embracing of a life of poverty recalls not only Christ's injunction as recorded in Matthew 19:22 but also the dramatic renunciations of Valdès and Francis. (The *Life* of Stephen also appears to suggest that either he or his hagiographer was influenced by the old monastic ideal of individual disappropriation and communal possession enshrined in the Acts of the Apostles and which galvanised canonical life in the eleventh century).²⁴ The *Rule* of Grandmont attempted to institutionalise austerity and poverty in provisions which strongly recall the Cistercian prohibitions against the acquisitions of tithes, altars, churches and so on; and on one occasion the *Rule* appears to prefigure Francis in its conception of the poverty of Christ himself.²⁵ As for the reference to the *Rule* of Basil in which the *Liber* places it above that of Benedict, both are in any case subordinated to the gospel.²⁶ Grandmontine ideals, as reflected in the earliest Grandmontine writings, link Stephen and the order firmly to the monastic movement and religious currents of the west and do much to cast further doubt on the information given in the *Life*. And quite apart from the wealth of example provided for the Grandmontines by groups such as the Cistercians and Premonstratensians, the Limousin itself in the twelfth century was a nursery of saints and the home of many austere religious communities amongst them l'Artige, Aureil²⁷ and the canonical community of Bénévent-l'abbaye, situated only a few miles from Muret and established in or around 1080.²⁸ It is tempting to speculate that here

24. *Liber de Doctrina*, p. 5; *ibid.*, c. xxxvii, p. 24; *Vita Stephani*, c. vi, p. 108.

25. *Regula*, xiv, p. 78.

26. *Liber de Doctrina*, Prologus, pp. 3-4.

27. J. Becquet, 'Aux origines du prieuré de l'Artige', *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin*, xc (1963), pp. 85-100; 'L'érémisme clerical et laïc dans l'ouest de la France', *L'Eremitismo in Occidente nei Secoli XI e XII*, *Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medievali*, iv (La Mendola, 1965), pp. 182-202.

28. J. Becquet, 'Les chanoines réguliers en Limousin aux XIe et XIIe siècles', *Analecra Praemonstratensia*, 36 (1960), pp. 193-235.

we may have the origins of or the inspiration for the tale about Stephen's journey to southern Italy; but whatever the truth of this, there can be little doubt that the group which became the Order of Grandmont derived its models from western and local sources and also – in common with its contemporaries – from the *vitae patrum et passiones sanctorum* which Stephen is depicted as reading to his disciples at mealtimes.²⁹

What of the more general thesis of eastern influence on western monasticism in the eleventh and twelfth centuries? Knowles (see p. 246 above) and others suggest that the example of Greek monks from southern Italy may have helped revive the memory of eremiticism in the west, thus producing an important change in western monastic life. But this equation of the east with eremiticism and the west with the *cenobium* is misleading. The Byzantine empire had always cherished a strong cenobitic tradition; and although the *Lives* of many southern Italian monastic saints suggest that a desire for solitude and instability dominated their existence, this is not necessarily the whole story. Disputes rage over the relationship between *eremum* and *cenobium* in southern Italy in the two hundred years before the creation, under the Normans, of the archimandritate of Messina and over the related problem of the extent of Studite influence in the area.³⁰ Nevertheless, even Pertusi, who believes that the Italo-Greek monk resigned himself only slowly to the communal cenobitic existence, sees in the Merkourion in the late tenth century 'the first signs of a return to the cenobitic life'.³¹ This is also signalled in the *Life* of St. Nilus of Rossano himself which describes one of his foundations – S. Fantinus – as a

29. *Vita Stephani*, c. xxii, pp. 116-7.

30. A. Pertusi, 'Aspetti organizzativi e culturali dell'ambiente monacale greco dell'Italia meridionale', *L'Eremitismo in Occidente*, pp. 382-426; *idem*, 'Rapporti tra il monachesimo italo-greco ed il monachesimo bizantino nell'alto medioevo', *La Chiesa greca in Italia dall' VIII al XVI secolo*, ii (Padua, 1973), pp. 473-520; S. Borsari, *Il monachesimo bizantina in Sicilia e nell' Italia meridionale prenormanna* (Naples, 1963); T. Minisci, 'Riflessi studitani nel monachesimo italo-greco', *Il monachesimo orientale (Orientalia christiana analecta, 153)*, pp. 215-53.

31. Pertusi, 'Rapporti', pp. 477-8.

koinobion.³² And just as Byzantine monasticism was not exclusively eremitic – even in an area such as southern Italy where local conditions may have encouraged a tendency to isolation and solitude – neither was western monasticism before the eleventh century exclusively cenobitic. The *Life* of the great monastic founder Romuald of Ravenna reveals that when he decided to embark on the life of a hermit, he found a hermit master to teach him, a man named Marinus who used to beat Romuald when he made any mistake in reciting the Psalms. Moreover, the traditional Benedictine monastery could, in a sense, accommodate a hermit: when Romuald and Marinus, together with two Venetian noblemen travelled to the Pyrenean monastery of St. Michael at Cuxa, Romuald lived as a hermit outside the main body of the monastery for several years.³³ Knowles does concede that Italy was the home of hermits throughout the early medieval period: but we might well ask whether this was not the case elsewhere in Europe, especially as the final chapter of the *Rule* of Benedict appears to suggest that its author was capable of envisaging and recommending other forms of monastic existence than his own to those sufficiently prepared for them.³⁴ The survival of some form of eremiticism in the west is hinted at by the *Vita quinque fratrum* of Bruno of Querfurt, which describes Romuald of Ravenna as the father of reasonable hermits who live according to the law,³⁵ rather than as the founder of eremitical life in this period.

Both his hagiographers and later historians agree that Romuald's law was founded on the writings which record the lives and sayings of the fathers of the Egyptian desert.³⁶ The suggestion

32. *Ibid.*

33. Peter Damian, *Vita beati Romualdi*, ed. G. Tabacco (Rome, 1957), *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, 94, cc. 4 and 5.

34. *The Rule of St. Benedict*, trans. and ed. by Abbot Justin McCann (London, 1952), c. 73, 1-62; pp. 62-99.

35. Bruno of Querfurt, *Vita quinque fratrum*, ed. R. Kade, *MGH, SS*, xv, col. 718. *Ibid.*, for the description of Romuald as
 primus nostrorum temporum non propria presumptione sed secundum
 collationes patrum heremitarum per pulchra sublimia humilitate magna
 vivit et, quae est recta via nos instruit.

36. See above and G. Tabacco, 'Romualdo di Ravenna e gli inizi dell'eremitismo camaldolese', *L'Eremitismo*, pp. 73-119.

that an awareness of early monasticism in the west was largely due, as Hamilton and McNulty maintain, to contact with Greeks and Greek monks undervalues the natural interest of western monks in the history and traditions of their institution, traditions which they sought actively to preserve. Thus, the '*Rule*' of Basil, in Rufinus' Latin version, was known at Bobbio, Fleury and Corbie by the eighth century; at York, S.Gall, Munsterschwarzbach, Nonnantola, Murbach, Lorsch and Flaix and is mentioned in Benedict of Aniane's *Codex Regularum* in the ninth; at Marmoutier and Jumièges in the tenth; and can be found in eleventh-century versions at Stavelot, Marmoutier, Corbie, Pomposa, S.Bertin, Reichenau, Massay, S.Arroul, Monte Cassino, which had two copies, Fonte Avellana, and at Cluny where there were four volumes containing Basil's works and a monk read from the *Dicta S.Basilii* during Lent. In the following century, numerous houses throughout western Europe, both 'traditional' and 'new' in outlook possessed copies of Basil.³⁷ Similarly, the two major revivals of interest in Origen in western monastic circles, the first in the ninth century, the second in the twelfth have long been viewed as the product not of any contact with southern Italy but with the intellectual and spiritual enthusiasms of Benedict of Aniane and Bernard of Clairvaux.³⁸ A much more convincing case for the influence of living Greek monks on their western contemporaries might be made if western monastic libraries of the eleventh and twelfth centuries included not only the monastic-patristic tradition but also some Latin translations of more recent works, such as the *Ladder of Divine Ascent* of John Climacus (c.579-649) which we know was present in at least one Greco-Italian house by the twelfth century.³⁹ (While a partial translation of the *Ladder* was made in the eleventh century it was only translated as a whole in the fourteenth century by Angelo Clareno).⁴⁰ The western mysticism of

37. J. Leclercq, 'Les relations entre le monachisme oriental et le monachisme occidental dans le haut moyen âge', *Millénaire de Mont Athos*, ii, pp. 53-64.

38. J. Leclercq, 'Origène au XIIe siècle', *Irenikon*, xxiv (1951), pp. 425-39.

39. Borsari, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-5.

40. J. Gribomont, 'La *Scala Paradisi*, Jean de Raïthou et Ange Clareno', *Studia Monastica*, ii (1960), pp. 345-58.

the twelfth century which most closely resembles that of eastern monastic writers such as Climacus and Symeon the New Theologian (942-1022) is undoubtedly that of the Cistercians and Carthusians; but this resemblance stems not from a direct knowledge of either of the two writers but from a return to the same sources which they too used.⁴¹ Hence St. Bernard sometimes writes of 'deification' or *theosis*, a concept strongly suggested by Climacus and central to Symeon; but he does so not by reference to them but to Maximus the Confessor, *Ambigua*, c.2.⁴² This is a clear instance of separate but parallel development as Symeon was also indebted to Maximus. And while Symeon and Bernard arrived by similar means at their idea of deification, the concept itself took on rather different meanings in east and west. While the east spoke without hesitation of becoming at one with God, the west took a rather less literal and more intellectual view of the process: Aquinas eventually conceded that the blessed might see the essence of God with the *caveat* that no created intellect can know all that God does or can do.⁴³ The development of monastic mystical theology in east and west reveals not an exchange of ideas between contemporaries or near-contemporaries but a resolute quarrying of the same sources for material by men writing in two somewhat different theological traditions.

Actual cases of contact reveal a similar pattern. If we examine accounts of the famous dual monastery of S. Alessio in Rome in the tenth century we see not, as has sometimes been alleged, a fusion of traditions but an amicable symbiosis. Bruno of Querfurt describes the community in 990:

Graeci optimi venirent, Latini similes militarunt.

Superioribus... pius Basilius, inferioribus magnus Benedictus
dux sive rex erat.⁴⁴

41. For the influences on the *Scala Claustralium* of the Carthusian prior Guigo II, see M. Laporte in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, vi, cols. 1175-76. The image of the ladder is well-known from Origen onwards, and refers to Jacob's ladder.

42. E. Gilson, *La Théologie mystique de S. Bernard* (Paris, 1947), p. 41.

43. *Summa Theologica*, i-ii, 12, art.1-art. 8.

44. See Bernard Hamilton, 'The City of Rome and the Eastern Churches in the Tenth Century', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 27 (1961), p. 16, who uses this quotation to demonstrate what he believes to be a synthesis of Latin and Greek monasticism in S. Alessio. But Bruno clearly indicates a separation.

Each side, evidently, remained faithful to its origins. Even more revealing is the account given in the *Life* of Nilus of Rossano of his visit to and relations with Monte Cassino. Nilus came with sixty monks to settle at Valleluce on the lands of Monte Cassino during the reign of abbot Aligernus who died in 984. Nilus had apparently remained there for some time before departing in disgust when the worldly Manso was made abbot. His arrival at Monte Cassino was marked by great ceremony: the office was sung in Greek and Nilus paid the abbey a graceful compliment by composing a hymn in Greek in honour of St. Benedict. But his stay there produced no profound changes and the Nilian community at Valleluce and Monte Cassino remained two separate institutions and on his arrival at Monte Cassino, Nilus even held a conference with its monks on the differences between the Latin and Greek forms of the monastic life. The Cassinese monks asked for a definition of the proper work of the monk and Nilus replied, in terms which recall Pseudo-Dionysius, with a definition of the monk as an angel whose work was the practice of charity towards others and the duty of praising God. Elsewhere, Nilus' replies indicate differences in practice, particularly in matters of diet. His severe answer to an enquiry as to what would happen to a monk who ate meat even once a year has been taken to indicate the greater rigidity of the east on this matter. And the Latin practice of fasting on Saturdays, though by no means reprovéd explicitly by Nilus, emerges as an area of difference: the Greeks, he declares, reject this observance on account of its heretical associations.⁴⁵ The memory of Nilus' visit may have survived, at Monte Cassino, into the thirteenth century, as the anonymous *Ritmo Cassinese* deals with some of the same themes and succeeds admirably in depicting on the one hand western admiration for the Byzantine spiritual tradition and on the other, the differences involved in coming to terms with it. The poem takes the form of a dialogue between a man from the east (*unu magnu vir prudente* – perhaps Nilus) and one from the west, who meet at dawn

45. See Olivier Rousseau, 'La visite de Nil de Rossano au Mont Cassin', *La Chiesa greca in Italia*, iii, pp. 1111-1138.

and begin to discuss the spiritual life. The easterner declares that he comes from a world where he has found great happiness:

Frate meu, de quillu mundu bengo,
loco sejo, et ibi me combengo.

The westerner is much impressed and asks what is eaten and drunk in this world:

Que bibande mandicate?
Abete bibande cuscì amorse
como queste nostre saporose?

The sage from the east is horrified by the gross nature of this response:

Ei, parabola dissensata
quantu male fu i trobate
Obebelli ai manducata
tia bibanda scelerata?
Obe l' ai assimilate?
Biband' abemo purgata,
d' ab enitiu preparata:
perfecta binja plantata,
de tuttu tempu fructata...

So impressive is the saintly asceticism of the man from the east that the westerner concludes that he and his like are not men but angels:

Angeli de celu sete.⁴⁶

If this poem does indeed contain a reminiscence of Nilus of Rossano's colloquy with the monks of Monte Cassino, it demonstrates a certain lack of comprehension in east-west relations; and it is revealing that the '*orientale lumen*' which shone, according to William of S. Thierry, in the Carthusians, was not that of contemporary Greek monasticism but that of the ancient fervour of the religion of Egypt.⁴⁷

To accept a notion of contemporary Byzantine influence on the west reflects an assumption of eastern cultural superiority and the

46. The *Ritmo Cassinese* is printed in E. Monaci, *Crestomazia* (Rome, 1912), pp. 17-19.

47. William of S. Thierry, *Epistola ad Fratres de Monte Dei*, ed. M.-M. Davy (Paris, 1940), p. 70.

peculiar view of cultural transmission recently deplored in a slightly different context by Peter Brown: there is, he affirms, a tendency to treat the east as

a distinct and enclosed reservoir of superior culture from which the occasional stream is released to pour downhill – by some obscure law of cultural hydraulics – to water the lower reaches of the west.⁴⁸

By the eleventh century, in any case, the west had no need of such dubious sources of inspiration. Western society embarked on a period of social, economic and intellectual ferment, the church attempted to reform itself. It is to these processes and to western monastic tradition that we should look when seeking to explain the rise of the new houses and orders of the period.

48. P. Brown, 'Eastern and western Christendom in late antiquity: a parting of the ways', *Studies in Church History*, 13 (1976), p. 5.

XI

'DE VULGARI ELOQUENTIA' IN TWELFTH-CENTURY BYZANTIUM

RODERICK BEATON / LONDON

At the height of Psellos' dramatic account of his own embassy to the usurper Isaac Komnenos in 1057, there comes a rare moment of disarming frankness when the historian confesses that he panicked and forgot his lines. He was therefore forced to improvise his speech (and we may also suspect, although he does not say so, that he was under instructions to make himself intelligible). Psellos says: 'It escaped their notice that I spoke at once in a private, familiar way (ιδιωτικῶς) and with subtlety (σοφῶς); in this I emulated Lysias in calling things by their common names (τῶν ὀνομάτων κοινότητα), and decked out common-or-garden words used by the man in the street (τὴν συνήθη λέξιν καὶ ἀφελῆ) with the most artful dodges (τεχνικωτάτοις νοήμασιν)' (*Chronographia*, vii, 26). Psellos the *rhetor* then has the last laugh, in that the speech which he sets down is a remarkable feat of formal rhetoric that shows no sign of any of the concessions mentioned and has quite evidently been 'recollected', to say the least, in tranquillity.

This passage reveals the presence of three elements in Psellos' text which play a formative role in the growth of the vernacular literatures in western Europe from the twelfth century onwards, and which are also significantly present in the Byzantine literary experiments of the Comnenian period. The first is obvious and applies to most of the *Chronographia*: namely the presence of the author *in* his text and his related emancipation as a figure of importance and prestige both inside and outside the text (Psellos is sent on his embassy to Isaac *because* he possesses the same literary

skill with which he will later record the event). The second is the recognition by a man of high learning that it is possible and sometimes even necessary to exploit the living language that he speaks as a vehicle for formal utterance (even though in Psellos' case he has to justify doing so by reference to a precedent of impeccable antiquity and Attic credentials, and is extremely chary of using this 'common everyday speech' in his *writing*). And the third can best be described as the concept of *fictionality*. It is not the same Psellos who in 1057 forgot his lines and saved himself by brilliant improvisation, and who ten or so years later narrated these events and also composed the complex rhetorical speech which he puts into his own mouth. The discrepancy between the kind of speech that Psellos says he made, and the speech he actually sets down, draws attention to the distance that separates the narrator of a story from the character who acts *in* the story, even when they are the same person and the facts objectively verifiable. And that Psellos himself is aware of this difference and conscious that he is exploiting it, is indicated by the words with which he introduces the speech: 'In any case, I shall recall the *main points* (τῶν κεφαλαίων) of my discourse (διαλόγου), insofar as my *memory does not deceive me*'. The speech that follows is a literary fiction in the sense that it draws attention to the artifice which allows us to read it *as if it were* the literal truth.

Each of these elements – emancipation of the writer, exploitation of the vernacular, fictionality – is found in the western literature of the same period, especially of the twelfth century; and a good deal has been written on the parallels between Byzantium and the West in intellectual life, education, and in emergent individualism in literature and art.¹ There are also parallels in the

1. The extent and importance of these parallels are discussed by R. Browning, 'Enlightenment and Repression in Byzantium in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Past and Present*, lxi (1975), pp. 3-23; and by E. Jeffreys, 'The Comnenian Background to the *Romans d'Antiquité*', *B*, I (1980), pp. 455-486, repr. in E. and M. Jeffreys, *Popular Literature in Late Byzantium* (London, 1983).

On parallels in education, it is useful to compare e.g. R. Southern, 'The schools of Paris and the school of Chartres', in R. Benson, G. Constable, and C. Lanham (edd.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford,

rise of new literary genres and innovative techniques, which are well enough known to be enumerated only briefly: the appearance in writing, in the twelfth century, of proto-national epics, in which French, German, Spanish and Greek speakers all recall their confrontations with the Moslem or pagan world of many centuries before;² the 'begging poems' attributed to Prodhomos and Michael Glykas in the mid-twelfth century with their complaints of penury, echoing the sentiments of many Byzantine authors in a more learned language, and also of Gautier de Châtillon and the anonymous 'goliardic' Latin poets of the West;³ and the first experiments in the revived genre of the romance – the four learned romances of twelfth century Byzantium, and in the west the Latin *Ruodlieb* dating from around 1000, followed by the French *romans d'antiquité* all dating from the lifetime of Prodhomos and the learned Greek romance-writers in Byzantium.⁴

1982), pp.113-137, with R.Browning, *op. cit.* and *The Byzantine Empire* (London, 1980), pp.147ff.

The emancipation of the writer or artist in Byzantium in this period is discussed in C.Mango, *Byzantium: the Empire of New Rome* (London, 1980), pp.246, 276, and in A.Kazhdan and S.Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge-Paris, 1984), *passim*. On the parallel phenomenon in the West at this period, see E.R.Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (London, 1953), Excursus XII; G.Shepherd, 'The emancipation of Story in the Twelfth Century', in *Medieval Narrative: a Symposium* (Odense U.P., 1979), pp.44-57; and P.Nykrog, 'The rise of literary fiction', in Benson et. al., *op. cit.*, pp.593-612.

2. In French: *La Chanson de Roland* and the cyclic Guillaume poems; in German: *Das Niebelungenlied*; in Spanish: *El Poema del mio Cid*; in Greek: *Digenes Akrites*; and respective bibliographies.
3. C.Hesseling and H.Pernot (edd.), *Poèmes Prodhomiques en Grec Vulgaire* (Amsterdam, 1910); E.Tsolakis, Μιχαὴλ Γλυκά στιχοὺς οὕς ἔγραψε καθ' ὃν κατεσχέθη καιρὸν, *Epistimoniki Epetiris tis Filosofikis Scholis, Parartima*, iii (University of Thessaloniki, 1959). Begging or complaining in a 'mixed' or even high language amounts to a literary *topos* in twelfth-century Byzantium (*pace* M.Jeffreys, 'The nature and origins of the political verse', *DOP*, xxviii [1974], pp.141-195, especially p.154 - but see his examples). For discussion of the *topos* in Prodhomos, Pseudo-(Manganeios) Prodhomos, Gregory Antiochos and Michael Haplouchair, see Kazhdan and Franklin, *op. cit.*

On the parallel phenomenon in the West see Curtius, *op. cit.*, Excursus VII; P.Dronke, 'Profane Elements in Literature', in Benson et al., *op. cit.*, pp.569-592; and bibliography on the 'goliardic' poems.

4. See E.Jeffreys, 'The Comnenian Background'; S.Deligiorgis, 'A Byzantine Romance in Cross-Cultural Perspective', *Neo-Hellenika*, ii (1975), pp.21-32; P.Dronke, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1970), pp.33-65;

Present in all of these literary developments and innovations of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, both western and eastern, are the three elements isolated in the passage of Psellos with which we began. It is important to realise that during the whole period it is the exception rather than the rule to find the three exploited together; and it is only at the very end of the period, and only at first in France, that Chrétien de Troyes definitively linked all three together to establish three of the defining characteristics of modern literature: production by a named individual who more or less explicitly claims responsibility for his work in the text; cultivation in writing of a language based on the spoken language of the time; and fictionality.

It is my contention that all three of these elements are also present in the four *Ptochoprodromika* of the mid twelfth century.

A. *Presence of the author.* All four poems are attributed in the manuscript to a named author, and all of them contain a proem and epilogue in which a single individual ('I') claims responsibility for his work. It is unimportant for our purposes that the names in the manuscripts are not consistent and that there are well-known difficulties in identifying the historical individual or individuals to which they refer. It will be convenient to call him Prodomos and to assume that in Poems I, II and IV certainly, and in Poem III probably, he is the same individual, since that is what the manuscripts tell us. The devices with which the poems begin and end indicate an innovative self-consciousness on the part of the poet in that the presumed author steps into the frame of his poem to introduce himself and tell us or rather his supposed audience, his patron, why he has written it. But the technical device by means of which he does this, and the possibility raised by the very existence of the manuscripts, none of which is an autograph, that what we read is not a private correspondence with the emperor but may have been intended to be read or listened to by an admiring public, both suggest that even this self-conscious commentary on the poems by their author is a deliberate, and therefore self-conscious, exercise in

fiction.

B. *Vernacular language*. The language of the 'frame' in which Prodromos introduces himself and his poems, addressing his patron directly, is not the same as the language of the narrative which in each case takes up the main part of the poem, although the shifts from one kind of language to another are not in every case clear cut. In his juxtaposition of the language of contemporary ceremonial poetry when addressing the emperor, and the somewhat inconsistently stylised vernacular in which the narrative part of each poem is written, Prodromos reveals himself as the first writer to exploit the possibilities of Greek *diglossia* as a difference of style, or *register*, rather than as a difference of language. Prodromos addresses the emperor and commends his poems in the language in which it was appropriate to do so, or in a parody of it. The slapstick stories which, he hopes, will amuse the emperor, he then goes on to tell in a language more appropriate to the humble milieu in which they are set, and also more appropriate to the 'Ptochoprodromos' who is their clowning hero. And this alternation of styles or linguistic registers further serves to distance Prodromos the author from Prodromos the character, and highlights the fictionality of the narrative parts of the poems.

C. *Fictionality*. The idea that the *Ptochoprodromika* are fictional creations rather than real petitions and the true autobiography of one or more petitioner has been gaining ground in the last few years.⁵ This impression can be strengthened by close reading of the texts, which reveals some more or less explicit reference or clue to the text's fictionality in each of the four poems. In Poem I, Prodromos begins by offering his 'poor' verses as entertainment to

5. See R. Browning, *The Byzantine Empire* (London, 1980), p.152; Kazhdan and Franklin, *Studies*, p.91; and M. Alexiou, in an unpublished paper given at the XVIIth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, March 1983 (abstract in *Bulletin of British Byzantine Studies*, [1984], p.26.) For similar approaches to contemporary texts in East and West see, respectively, M. Alexiou, 'Literary Subversion and the Aristocracy in Twelfth-Century Byzantium: a Stylistic Analysis of the *Timarion* (ch. 6-10)', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, viii (1982-3), pp.29-45, and F. Cairns, 'The Archpoet's Confession', *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch*, xv (1980), pp.87-103, and 'The Archpoet's "Jonah-Confession" (Poem II)', *ibid.*, xviii (1983), pp.168-93.

the emperor: he offers them παίζοντας, and as κοδιμένα at the emperor's table (a playful parallel between the poem itself and its subject-matter, which includes having to beg for food at his *own* table); and continues: 'I may *seem*, master, to be laughing and playing, but actually I'm in terrible trouble' (15-7). The contrast between the seeming (φαίνωμαι) of art, and reality, in fact calls attention to the artifice of the whole poem including these lines. What the lines really tell us in their context is that the poet's description of the terrible time that he is having, which follows them, is the substance of a poem written in fun (παίζοντας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀναισχυντῶντας, 10). The bathetic tragedy that he narrates is the tragedy of the clown, not of the genuine victim. (And whether the clown is also a genuine victim is beside the point: when he is in the ring he is clowning, within his poem Prodomos is 'laughing and playing' to amuse the emperor, and very probably anyone who will listen as well.)

The fictional element in the second poem is implied by the subtle parallel between its use of language and its subject matter. The poet-narrator seeks to exonerate himself from an implied charge of naivety (ἄπλοσυχία) and prodigality (σπατάλη), both in the lifestyle that has reduced him to poverty, and in the choice of language and verseform appropriate to depicting it. One small additional clue would seem to be the fact that his family comprises *thirteen* mouths to feed, a number which may be the product of literary irony rather than an accident of real life.

The third poem contains contradictions concerning the narrator's literacy, some of which can be explained away as manuscript interpolations.⁶ But more clearly indicative are the author's protestations, seemingly made in writing, that he is entirely illiterate (20,65); and especially the half-line καὶ γὰρ ἀγράμματος εἰμί (20) which could only have been formulated by someone familiar with the rules for accenting the verb 'to be' in Attic Greek.⁷ A further

6. E.g. 138 a-d: 'What shall I *write* next?', 400 hh: 'What use is it that I've learned to *write* a little?'

7. Sic in all five MSS, corr. H and P: ἀγράμματός εἰμι. The error in orthography shows still more clearly that the stress-pattern of the line requires the *ancient* Greek form with its final stress, where the modern vernacular form εἶμαι (which

reason for reading this poem as fiction is that the young monk who tells his tale of deprivation and victimisation in the monastery may himself be intended as one of the butts of the satire: he bemoans the harsh discipline, the absence of good food, wine, clothes and frequent gate passes to go into town: that is, his complaints are directed against some of the fundamental ideals of monastic life and he is not above the occasional blasphemous pun or innuendo.⁸ One may doubt whether this tale of woe would have found a very sympathetic hearing from Manuel Komnenos had it been addressed to him in all seriousness by the kind of person the narrator purports to be.

And the Proem to Poem IV introduces an idea parallel to the one we encountered in Poem I: *If* the narrator were to create a complex tale of mythology (μυθοπλαστών), the emperor is so wise he would have no trouble in deciphering it. As it is he is going to tell him what a waste of time it was learning *grammata* and reading the ancient myths (1 uu-bbb). Here again it is legitimate, at least if one accepts the proem in this case as an integral part of the text, to infer that the poet is hinting that for all his plain speaking, what he is doing is precisely making a 'myth' or a 'mythology' whose literal truth may no more be assumed than that of the amours of the pagan gods.

In conclusion, the combined presence in the *Ptochoprodromika* of the author 'in' the text, the use of the vernacular, and a fictional mode of narrative, may reveal a complexity and coherence in these poems which have only recently begun to be suspected. The

must be stressed, if it is stressed at all, on the penultimate syllable), would be metrically impossible. There are a few instances in the *Ptochoprodromika* where a first half-line concludes with an unstressed form of the verb 'to be', thus minimising the distinction between ancient and modern forms, especially IV, 173: παπᾶς γραμματικὸς εἶσαι (cf. III, 93, 189, 333), but in these cases the propenultimate syllable carries a primary stress, as it does not here. The conclusion is inescapable that the writer chose to use a learned form, in a context where it must be clearly distinguished from its vernacular counterpart, in the very line in which he claims not to know the learned language

8. E.g. III, 189-92: Χριστέ ... νὰ ἐχρίσθῃ τὸ μουστάκιν μου, and 33-5: the two abbots, father and son, who uncanonically rule are described, in a parody of the liturgical formula: πατήρ, υἱός, τὸ κάκιστον ζεύγος.

integration of these three innovative elements in the poems fits them to be compared with the contemporary and slightly later achievements of western poets who used similar means to achieve very different ends. And finally, I should like to suggest that the *Ptochoprodromika* can legitimately be read as an exploration and humorous demonstration of the possibility of what Dante was over a century later to call 'vernacular eloquence'.

XII THE CATHARS AND THE SEVEN CHURCHES OF ASIA.

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The Cathars claimed that theirs was the one true church and therefore denounced the Roman church as a false church which had departed from the teaching of Christ¹. Part of the Catholic reply to this polemic was the one which had been traditional since the time of St. Irenaeus, an appeal to the apostolic succession of the Roman see, deriving from SS. Peter and Paul, which guaranteed the transmission of Christ's teaching in an unadulterated form.² By the middle of the thirteenth century the Cathars had developed a quite sophisticated rejoinder: while admitting that St. Paul had preached in Rome, they claimed that he and his followers had been killed in the Neronian persecution and implied that the true Roman church had come to an end at that point. They denied that St. Peter had ever been to Rome and dismissed the value of his shrine as historical evidence on the grounds that his relics had not been produced for public display until almost 300 years after his alleged death, so that there was no proof that they were the bones of the apostle at all. They accepted Catholic claims that the Emperor Constantine had given St. Sylvester of Rome temporal jurisdiction over all the western lands and admitted that the popes had ruled in

1. Th. Venckeleer, ed., 'Un recueil cathare: le Manuscrit A.6.10 de la Collection vaudoise de Dublin. I. Une Apologie', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XXXVIII (1960), pp.815-34.

2. Irenaeus, *Adversus omnes Haereses*, III, iii, 1-3, ed. with French trans. A. Rousseau, L. Doutreleau, *Sources Chrétiennes* (SC), 211 (1974), III (ii), pp.31-8.

unbroken succession since that time, but they stressed that the church of Sylvester bore none of the marks of the true church defined in the New Testament, whereas their own church bore all of them.³

Catholic theologians went to great lengths to refute the doctrinal criticisms which the Cathars made of the Roman church and to defend the Petrine claims of the holy see, but they did not make the obvious retort and ask the Cathars for proofs of their own apostolic descent. Moneta of Cremona, the most voluminous of the Catholic apologists, devoted the final book of his treatise against the Cathars and the Waldensians to a discussion about the nature of the true church. In the printed text this runs to 356 folio columns, yet only one column is concerned with Cathar origins. This brief survey says nothing whatever about Cathar history: Moneta merely identifies certain Cathar doctrines with those taught by pagan philosophers and Christian heresiarchs – Pythagoras, the Magi, the Sadducees, Mani, Tatian and Valentinus – and assumes that the Cathars must trace their descent from these heterogeneous teachers of error.⁴ Most Catholic writers clearly considered it a waste of time to investigate Cathar history, since it was plain from the nature of their teaching that they had not derived their beliefs from Christ and the apostles.

Yet the Cathars themselves might have been expected to have taken a greater interest in their own history, since they believed, just as firmly as the Catholics did, that they stood in the apostolic succession. In the Provençal version of the Cathar *Ritual* the presiding elder says to the candidate who is about to be initiated:

The church of God has preserved this holy baptism, by which the

3. Moneta of Cremona, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses libri quinque*, V, ii, 1, ed. T.A. Ricchini (Rome, 1743), pp. 410-11. A. Borst, *Die Katharer, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, XII (Stuttgart, 1953), p. 216, denied that this passage related to the Cathars, but J. Duvernoy, *Le Catharisme: La religion des Cathares* (Toulouse, 1976), p. 227, has conclusively shown from southern French documents that it does. Bonacursus of Milan, *Manifestatio Haeresis Catharorum*, PL, 204, col. 777, claimed that the Cathars taught that St. Sylvester was antichrist.

4. Moneta, V, ii, 2, *De Origine Catharorum*, loc. cit., p. 411.

Holy Spirit is given, from the time of the apostles until now, and it has been passed on by Good Men to Good Men until the present occasion, and this will continue to happen until the end of the world.⁵

A general statement of this kind about origins would no doubt have satisfied unsophisticated postulants, but not all consoled Cathars were simple people. Some are known from their surviving writings to have been intelligent and articulate: for example, Rainier Sacconi, who was a Cathar minister for seventeen years before becoming a Dominican, and John of Lugio, who inspired, even if he did not write, *The Book of the Two Principles*, and who was 'elder son', or co-adjutor bishop, of the Cathar church of Desenzano.⁶ Such men would have needed better evidence than simple assertion that their church could trace its descent from the apostles.

In attempting to determine whether the Cathar churches had written or oral traditions about their own history, a major problem is posed by the nature of the surviving evidence. More than ninety percent of this consists either in treatises written by Catholic theologians to denounce the Cathar movement, or in depositions made by Cathars in reply to questions posed by Catholic inquisitors. Since the Catholic authorities were interested chiefly in the current faith and practice of the Cathars and scarcely at all in their origins, these records give very little information about Cathar history. The writings of the Cathars themselves, which might have contained evidence of that kind, were in large part either destroyed by their enemies⁷ or lost through neglect once Catharism had ceased to be an organized movement. Nevertheless, sufficient indications survive, albeit of a fragmentary kind, to show that the Cathars did have a coherent picture of the history of their church.

One Catholic writer interested in Cathar origins was Anselm of

5. L. Clédât, *Le Nouveau Testament traduit au XIIIe siècle en langue provençale, suivi d'un Rituel Cathare* (Paris, 1887), p. xvii.

6. Rainier Sacconi, *Summa de Catharis; Liber de duobus principiis*, ed. A. Don-daine, *Un Traité néo-manichéen du XIIIe siècle. Le 'Liber de duobus principiis', suivi d'un fragment de Rituel Cathare* (Rome, 1939), pp. 66, 72-6, 81-147.

7. J. Guiraud, *Histoire de l'Inquisition au moyen âge*, 2 vols (Paris, 1935-8), I, pp. xi-xv.

Alessandria. He spent more than twenty years in the service of the inquisition in Lombardy and compiled a notebook in the 1260s and 1270s which Fr. Dondaine has discovered and edited. Anselm's knowledge of Cathar history must have been gained from witnesses whom he had examined and he was able to give a detailed account of the way in which the Cathar faith had been established in Lombardy and of the reasons for the schisms which had developed in the Cathar community there. He was also able to reconstruct lists of the bishops who had ruled the Lombard Cathar churches from their inception to his own day.⁸ He was even able to date the introduction of Catharism there fairly precisely. One of his notes reads:

These men introduced heresy to Lombardy from Naples: Mark, John the Jew, Joseph and Aldricus – this happened in about the year 1174.⁹

Much of the information which Anselm gives can be controlled by earlier and independent sources and can be shown to be accurate. Detailed historical knowledge of this kind, spanning a century, implies that the Cathars of Lombardy considered it important to remember the succession of bishops in their churches and may indicate that they kept records.

The southern French Cathars certainly kept records and part of this material has survived in the document often misleadingly called the Acts of the Council of Saint-Félix. This is known only in the text printed in 1660 by Guillaume Besse in his *Histoire ... de Narbonne* and its authenticity has been challenged.¹⁰ I have stated elsewhere my reasons for supposing that it is genuine,¹¹ but I should like to draw attention to Besse's statement that he was only publishing

8. Anselm of Alessandria, *Tractatus de Haereticis*, ed. A.Dondaine, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* (AFP), XX (1950), pp.308-24.

9. *Ibid.*, c.13, AFP, XX, p.319.

10. G.Besse, *Histoire des ducs, marquis et comtes de Narbonne* (Paris, 1660), pp.483-6.

11. B.Hamilton, 'The Cathar Council of Saint-Félix reconsidered', AFP, XLVIII (1978), pp.23-53. See also A.Dondaine, 'Les actes du concile albigeois de Saint-Félix de Caraman', *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, vol. 5, *Studi e Testi*, 125 (Vatican City, 1946), pp.324-55.

extracts of the original source.¹² The document from which Besse made his selection was in the archive of S. Étienne at Toulouse, but it was a copy made in 1223 for the Cathar bishop of Carcassonne of a set of three documents formerly in the possession of the Cathar church of Toulouse. One was an account of the council held some fifty years earlier at Saint-Félix at which the Cathar churches of southern France had been organized; another was the text of a sermon preached to the Cathars of Toulouse by the Byzantine dualist bishop Nicetas; and the third was a record of the way in which the diocesan boundaries of the Cathar churches of Toulouse and Carcassonne had been determined.¹³ The fact that the Cathars not only kept such records but also subsequently made copies of them indicates that they did have an historical awareness and that they were just as concerned as Catholics were to preserve evidence about the transmission of their faith.

But western evidence would only have been of limited help to the Cathars if they wished to prove an apostolic filiation, because the Cathar churches in western Europe were all fairly recent foundations. Even if the outbreaks of Manichaeism reported in various parts of the west in the first half of the eleventh century are regarded as evidence of Cathar activity (and I am inclined to view some of them in that way),¹⁴ it remains true that no firm connection has been established between them and the Cathar communities of the twelfth century. There is general agreement among scholars that the earliest certain evidence for the presence of Cathars in the west during the twelfth century dates from 1143 when the Cathar bishop of Cologne and his *socius* were examined by Eberwin of Steinfeld and admitted that their faith derived from the Byzantine empire.¹⁵ Soon after this the Cathars established a church in northern France.

12. 'L'Acte que ie dois donner tout entier, et dont j'employe un extraict au fond de cette Histoire, dit que...', Besse, *op. cit.*, p.325.

13. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, *AFP*, XLVIII, pp.23-53.

14. For the opposite view of alleged Manichaeism in western Europe in the eleventh century, R.I.Moore, *The Origins of European Dissent* (London, 1977), pp.23-45.

15. Eberwin of Steinfeld, *Appendix ad S.Bernardi Epistolas*, no.432, *PL*, 182, col.679.

Anselm of Alessandria was able to gather information about this because while he was inquisitor in Lombardy the north French Cathar church was living in exile in Verona.¹⁶ The account which Anselm gives of its origins, though uncorroborated, fits in with such other facts as are known. He relates that 'Frenchmen went to Constantinople to conquer the land and found that sect'. Since he places this event before 1174 he must be referring to either the first or the second crusade and, on balance, the second crusade seems more likely, since Louis VII's army did almost attack Constantinople in 1147.¹⁷ When they returned home, Anselm alleges, the crusaders who had become Cathars disseminated their doctrine and founded a church in northern France. Their teaching spread into southern France and northern French Cathars were also responsible for introducing the heresy into Lombardy when some of their members visited Italy.¹⁸ Cathars were certainly present in southern France by 1165¹⁹ and may have been there earlier²⁰ and when the council of Saint-Félix met the southern French already had a Cathar bishopric at Albi.²¹ According to Anselm the Cathar church in Lombardy was first organized under a leader named Mark in c.1174 and this is confirmed by an independent source dating from the early thirteenth century.²²

16. Sacconi, *op. cit.*, ed. Dondaine, p.77.

17. Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, IV, ed. V.G.Berry (New York, 1948), pp.68-72. Cf. C.Thouzellier, 'Hérésie et croisade', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, XLIX (1954), pp.859-62.

18. Anselm of Alessandria, *op. cit.*, ed. Dondaine, *AFP*, XX, pp.308-9.

19. *Acta Concilii Lumbariensis*, ed. M.Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols (Paris, 1738-1904), XIV, pp.431-4.

20. The earliest certain evidence for Catharism in southern France is *Heriberti monachi epistola de haereticis Petragoricis*, *PL*, 181, cols. 1721-2, written before 1163 since it is repeated in the Annals of Margam for that year, ed. H.R.Luard, *Annales Monastici*, I, (*RS*), (London, 1864), p.15.

21. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, *AFP*, XLVIII, pp.31-5.

22. Anselm of Alessandria, *op. cit.*, ed. Dondaine, *AFP*, XX, pp.308-9. This is substantially confirmed by the anonymous *De Heresi Catharorum in Lombardia*, ed. A.Dondaine, 'L'Hierarchie cathare en Italie, I.', *AFP*, XIX (1949), p.306, which says that Mark was consecrated a bishop in the Bulgarian *ordo*. Anselm's version is corroborated by the Saint-Félix document in which Mark is not referred to as a bishop before his consecration by Nicetas, Hamilton, *op. cit.*, *AFP*, XLVIII, pp.31-2.

From this brief survey it would appear that none of the Cathar churches in the west could trace their origins much before 1140, but that they all claimed to derive their faith from an older religious tradition in the Byzantine empire. They were therefore dependant on the information given them by eastern teachers about the earlier history of their church. The only direct knowledge that we have about the kind of historical perspective which the Cathars were given by eastern dualists is the extract from the sermon which Nicetas of Constantinople preached to the church of Toulouse in c.1175, contained in the Saint-Félix document:

You have asked me to tell you whether the customs of the primitive churches were light or burdensome and I tell you that the seven churches of Asia were separated from each other by defined boundaries and that none of them did anything to the detriment of any of the others. And the Roman church and those of Dragometia, Melenguia, Bulgaria and Dalmatia are separated from each other by defined boundaries and they do not do anything to each other's detriment and so they live peaceably together. Do you likewise.²³

All three sources which record Nicetas's mission refer to him as *papa*.²⁴ In the western church this title was reserved to the pope and its use by the Cathars confused Catholic writers, some of whom supposed that Nicetas was an heretical antipope,²⁵ whereas the word seems simply to have meant father and to have been given by the eastern dualists to all their prelates.²⁶ Anselm of Alessandria calls Nicetas 'bishop of the heretics of Constantinople'²⁷ and there is

23. *Ibid.*, p.52.

24. For Nicetas's mission and his influence see the excellent study of D.Obolensky, 'Papās Nicetas: A Byzantine Dualist in the Land of the Cathars', *Okeanos: Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko, Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, VII (1983), pp.489-500.

25. E.g. 'Nempe et apostolicum cui omnes obediunt se fatentur habere', Joachim of Flora, *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, III, ix, 11 (Venice, 1527), f. 133r.

26. E.g. John Tzurillas, leader of the Bogomils in the diocese of Acmônia in the early eleventh century, was called *papa* by his followers. *Euthymii monachi coenobii Peribleptae epistula invectiva*, ed. G.Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten* (Leipzig, 1908), p.66.

27. Anselm of Alessandria, *op. cit.*, ed. Dondaine, *AFP*, XX, pp.308-9.

no reason to doubt this description, since Hugh Etherianus, the Pisan adviser to Manuel Comnenus on western church affairs, attests the presence of a dualist community in the Byzantine capital at this time.²⁸

Nicetas's reference to dualist tradition was two-fold: he appealed to the practice of the 'primitive churches' and to that of the Balkan dualist churches of his own day. In order to understand what he meant by the seven churches of Asia it is first necessary to consider his remarks about contemporary Balkan dualism. He names five churches: Rome, Dragometia, Bulgaria, Dalmatia and Melenguia. I have argued elsewhere that by Rome Nicetas meant his own church of Constantinople, the New Rome.²⁹ The location of the churches of Bulgaria and Dalmatia is self-explanatory and it is now generally accepted that the church of Melenguia was in the Peloponnese. Professor Obolensky's conclusion that the church of Dragometia was situated in the area of the Dragovitsa is incontrovertible³⁰ and it is possible that it took its name from the ancient Orthodox see of Dragovet.³¹ Western writers found considerable difficulty in Latinizing the name of this church and record it in a variety of forms, of which the most common are Dragucia and Drugunthia, but in the rest of this paper it will be referred to as the church of Dragovet.

The Cathars of northern France, Languedoc and Lombardy to whom Nicetas addressed his mission had originally received their faith from the dualist church of Bulgaria.³² When describing this filiation western writers often allude to the *ordo Bulgariae* rather than to the *ecclesia Bulgariae*.³³ By *ordo* they mean a regular,

28. A.Dondaine, 'Hugues Étérien et Léon Toscan', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, XIX (1952), pp.109-14.

29. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, AFP, XLVIII, p.37.

30. D.Obolensky, *The Bogomils* (Cambridge, 1948), pp.158-62.

31. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, AFP, XLVIII, pp.37-8

32. *De Heresi*, ed. Dondaine, AFP, XIX, p.306; Anselm of Alessandria, *op. cit.*, ed. Dondaine, AFP, XX, pp.308-9; Hamilton, *op. cit.*, AFP, XLVIII, pp.23-53.

33. On this usage, W.L.Wakefield, A.P.Evans, *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York-London, 1969), p.690, n.10.

sacramental succession. Nicetas came to the west specifically to denounce the Bulgarian *ordo* and at Saint-Félix near Toulouse he presided at a council at which he re-consolated all the initiated Cathars who were present and re-consecrated all their bishops in the *ordo* of the church of Dragovet.³⁴

Although Nicetas succeeded in uniting all the Cathars of the west in a single *ordo*, schisms soon developed after he had returned to Constantinople. The church of Bulgaria sent an envoy named Petracious to the Cathars of Lombardy to explain that the sacraments conferred by Nicetas were invalid and subsequently some groups of Cathars returned to the Bulgarian *ordo*, others sought to have their sacraments validated by the dualist church of Dalmatia, while some, including all the churches of Languedoc, remained faithful to the *ordo* of Dragovet.³⁵ These schisms were never healed and Catholic observers noted that there was a major doctrinal division between those Cathars who adhered to the *ordo* of Dragovet and those who belonged to the *ordo* of Bulgaria and to the related *ordo* of Dalmatia. The Cathars of the *ordo* of Dragovet were absolute dualists, who believed in the existence of two co-eternal gods, one good and creator of the invisible cosmos, the other evil and creator of the phenomenal universe; whereas the Cathars of the Bulgarian and Dalmatian *ordines* were moderate dualists, who believed in the existence of a single god, creator of Lucifer, who had fallen from grace and become the evil demiurge who had fashioned the material universe from the four elements which the good God had made.³⁶

Byzantine theologians writing in the central middle ages note similar differences between Christian dualist groups in the Balkans and refer to the moderate dualists as Bogomils and the absolute dualists as Paulicians.³⁷ It is therefore tempting to identify the *ordo* of Dragovet, from which the absolute dualists among the western

34. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, AFP, XLVIII, pp.23-53.

35. *De Heresi*, ed. Dondaine, AFP, XIX, pp.306-8; Anselm of Alessandria, *op. cit.*, ed. Dondaine, AFP, XX, pp.309-10; Sacconi, *op. cit.*, ed. Dondaine, p.77.

36. *Ibid.*, pp.71-2, 76-7.

37. E.g. Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia Dogmatica*, Tit. XXIV, XXVII, PG, 130, cols. 1189-1244, 1289-1332.

Cathars traced their origin, with the Paulicians, and the *ordo* of Bulgaria, which the moderate dualist Cathars regarded as their mother-church, with the Bogomils. Unfortunately a simple equation of this kind is not possible. Although the Cathars differed among themselves about certain points of theology, they all shared a common pattern of observance. They all made a rigid distinction between *credentes*, who had not been initiated and who were not bound to observe the rules of the church, and *perfecti*, who had received the Cathar baptism and who were obliged to lead very austere lives. All the Cathar churches had the same kind of organization, all used the same liturgical forms and all Cathar *perfecti* had to live in accordance with the same rules. It therefore follows that the mother churches of Bulgaria and Dragovet, from which the Cathar churches of the west traced their descent, must likewise have observed a common form of religious practice, public worship and organization, whatever doctrinal differences may have existed between them. Byzantine theologians identify the extreme asceticism which characterized the Cathar *perfecti* exclusively with the Bogomils. There is no evidence that the Paulicians made any distinction between believers and perfect, nor are they ever associated with world-renouncing forms of asceticism. It therefore follows that all the Balkan dualist churches from which the Cathars traced their descent and with which they maintained firm links in the thirteenth century were Bogomil churches.

What, then, was the issue which made necessary the western missions first of Nicetas of Constantinople and then of Petrarius of Bulgaria? Obolensky has justly observed that the adoption of absolute dualist beliefs by some Cathar and Bogomil churches was of profound significance, in that whereas moderate dualism might be considered a Christian heresy, absolute dualism, which denied the first article of the Christian faith, belief in one God 'maker of all things visible and invisible', was an entirely different religion from orthodox Christianity.³⁸ Catholic theologians who wrote about the Cathars understandably paid particular attention to this doctrinal

38. Obolensky, *op. cit.*, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, VII, pp.489-500.

innovation. Yet the Cathars themselves had no agreed statement of belief corresponding to the Nicene creed to which all their members subscribed and were therefore willing to tolerate a wide variety of doctrinal opinion within their communities.³⁹ There is no evidence in any of the sources that the division between the churches of Bulgaria and Dragovet was caused by doctrinal disagreements: it would appear that the schism was occasioned by a dispute about what, in Catholic terminology, would be called the validity of each other's orders.

Cathars believed that salvation was conferred by the one sacrament which Christ had given to his church, baptism in the Spirit by the laying-on of hands, which they called the *consolamentum*. Although normally administered by a bishop or his delegate, this sacrament could at need be conferred by any fully initiated Cathar of either sex. But if a Cathar committed a grave sin after his baptism, he not only lost the right to console, but all previous consolings which he had administered were *ipso facto* rendered void and had to be repeated. The reasoning behind this belief seems to have been that the *consolamentum* conferred impeccability on its recipient and that therefore any consoled Cathar who committed grave sin could not have been validly consoled and had never had the power to console others.⁴⁰ Nicetas of Constantinople, it would seem, developed doubts about the validity of sacraments conferred by the Bulgarian church and came to the west to remedy this defect, while Petrarius of Bulgaria certainly cast doubt on the validity of Dragovetan sacraments.⁴¹ Rainier Sacconi, writing some eighty years after Nicetas's mission, gave a list of fifteen Cathar churches which existed in his own day in France, Italy, the Balkans and the Byzantine empire. This ends with the words: 'the church of Bulgaria, the church of Drugunthia [Dragovet]. All took their origin from the last two named.'⁴² Because of his long association

39. 'Item omnes ecclesiae Catharorum se recipiunt ad invicem licet habeant diversas et contrarias opiniones, praeter Albanenses et Concorrezenses qui se damnant adinvicem...'. Sacconi, *op. cit.*, ed. Dondaine, p.77.

40. This doubt was shared by Cathars of all persuasions, *ibid.*, pp.69-70.

41. *De Heresi*, ed. Dondaine, *AFP*, XIX, p.306.

42. Sacconi, *op. cit.*, ed. Dondaine, p.70.

with their church Rainier was in a position to be well-informed about Cathar history. It is sometimes supposed that he is claiming in this passage that Bulgaria and Dragovet were in origin two separate bodies and that both were sources of the Cathar movement. The rest of the evidence suggests, however, that he was making a more limited point: that in his day all the Cathars in east and west traced their orders (their line of consoling) either to the church of Bulgaria or to that of Dragovet.

The unity of organization, liturgy and discipline which existed between the two traditions suggests that the churches of Bulgaria and Dragovet had once formed part of a single communion. Indeed, Nicetas of Constantinople's sermon to the Cathars of Toulouse implies that in his day the schism was of very recent origin, for although he had come to the west specifically to denounce the validity of the Bulgarian *ordo* he did not denounce the Bulgarian church. On the contrary, he spoke of all the Balkan churches forming part of a single communion and he evidently hoped that all Balkan dualists would come to accept the sacramental *ordo* of Dragovet and that the schism would in that way be healed. In this he proved to be over-optimistic: the schism was never healed and after 1175 there certainly were two Cathar churches, one in communion with Bulgaria, the other with Dragovet.⁴³ Nevertheless, any western Cathar of either church who sought to find out more about the origins of the movement would have learned about the united dualist churches of the Balkans before the schism which, as Nicetas of Constantinople had told his audience, 'have peace with each other'.

The five Balkan churches to which he referred and which existed at the time when Catharism became established in western Europe were therefore Bogomil churches. The origins of Bogomilism are reasonably well-known. It is first attested in Bulgaria in the middle of the tenth century in the reign of Tsar Peter and its foundation is attributed to *pop* Bogomil.⁴⁴ Byzantine theologians described it as a

43. Salvo Burci, *Liber Supra Stella*, ed. Ilarino da Milano, *Aevum*, XIX (1945), p.309.

44. For a full discussion of the growth of Bogomilism in Bulgaria see Obolensky, *Bogomils*, pp.111-67.

mixture of Manichaeism/Paulicianism and Messalianism, although this is not necessarily evidence of historical filiation so much as an attempt to classify certain heretical tenets.⁴⁵ I find it impossible to accept the view that Messalianism survived as an organized religious system in the tenth century and influenced the development of Bogomilism, although I have no doubt that certain kinds of extreme ascetic behaviour, recurrent in Byzantine monasticism, had always been labelled in that way. Paulicianism is a different matter. It was an older movement than Bogomilism and Paulician communities existed in the Balkans at a time when Bogomilism was emerging and had the opportunity of affecting its development. Constantine V had brought settlers, who included Paulicians, from eastern Asia Minor to re-people Thrace after the great plague of 748⁴⁶ and other Paulicians were settled at Philippopolis by John I Tzimisces in the third quarter of the tenth century.⁴⁷

It is impossible to determine whether the Paulicians had any part in shaping primitive Bogomilism, but it is certain that both movements shared a common belief that the phenomenal world was not the creation of the good God: the Paulicians attributed it to an evil god and the early Bogomils to an evil demiurge who was a creature of the good God.⁴⁸ Bogomilism changed a great deal in the first century of its existence and the Paulicians certainly had some share in this. The Bulgarian Bogomils described by Cosmas the priest in the tenth century were simple-minded people of very ascetic life who do not seem to have had a liturgy or any form of structure.⁴⁹

45. E.g. Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, XV, viii, 1, ed. with French translation B. Leib, 4 vols (Paris, 1967-76), III, pp.218-9. Cf. Obolensky, *op. cit.*, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, VII, p.500, footnote 44.

46. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1883-7), I, p.429.

47. Anna Comnena, *op. cit.*, XIV, vii, 5, ed. Leib, III, pp.179-80.

48. Peter of Sicily, *Historia Manichaeorum qui et Pauliciani dicuntur*, c.36, ed. Ch. Astruc, W. Carus-Wolska, J. Gouillard, P. Lemerle, D. Papachryssanthou, P. Paramelle, 'Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure', *Travaux et Mémoires (TM)*, IV (1970), Centre de Recherche d'histoire et civilisation byzantines, pp.19-21; Zigabenus, *op. cit.*, XXVII, 7, PG, 130, cols. 1296-7.

49. H.-C. Puech, A. Vaillant, *Le Traité contre les Bogomiles de Cosmas le prêtre* (Paris, 1945).

When the movement spread into the Greek-speaking lands of Byzantium during the eleventh century it became much more sophisticated. The Byzantine Bogomils described by Euthymius Zigabenus in the early twelfth century are recognizably more like western Cathars than the primitive Bulgarian Bogomils had been: they distinguished between hearers and fully initiated member, they had a liturgy, a canon of scripture and a tradition of exegesis.⁵⁰

Paulician influence is discernible at this stage for Zigabenus relates that the Bogomils of Constantinople in the reign of Alexius Comnenus

say that the God-fearing emperors are strangers to the body of Christians ... and that the only orthodox and faithful ones were the Iconoclasts, specially Copronymus.⁵¹

The historical memory of the Bogomils as a religious group did not extend back as far as the Iconoclast period and in any case the adherents of a movement which originated in Bulgaria would have had little reason to revere Constantine V. The Paulicians, on the contrary, had reason to remember Constantine with kindness: he had settled their ancestors in Thrace and had not attempted to persecute them for their faith, probably because his father, Leo III, had had Gegnesius, the Paulician leader, examined by the patriarch of Constantinople who had been misled into supposing that his beliefs were orthodox.⁵²

Anna Comnena attests that the Paulicians remained distinct from the Bogomils in Alexius I's reign,⁵³ so that Paulician influence on Bogomilism cannot be attributed to a merger between the two movements during the eleventh century. The evidence suggests rather that some Paulicians were converted to Bogomilism, that they accepted Bogomil ascetic disciplines, but that in their turn they affected the development of Bogomilism in various ways. The Bogomil cult of the Iconoclast emperors attested by Zigabenus is the earliest known example of such influence, but it became more

50. Zigabenus, *op. cit.*, PG, 130, cols. 1289-1332.

51. Zigabenus, *De Haeresi Bogomilorum*, ed. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten*, p.99.

52. Peter of Sicily, *op. cit.*, cc. 114-22, TM, IV, pp.47-9.

53. Anna Comnena, *op. cit.*, XIV, viii, ed. Leib, III, pp.177-82.

pronounced in the following century. The absolute dualism of the Bogomil church of Dragovet recorded in western sources about those Cathar churches which derived their teaching from the *ordo* of Dragovet is a further sign of Paulician influence. In this connection it should be noted that Dragovet is geographically the nearest of all the Bogomil churches to Philippopolis, the centre of Balkan Paulicianism in the twelfth century, and consequently it is possible that the Bogomil church of Dragovet contained a higher proportion of Paulician converts than Bogomil churches did elsewhere. This would explain why the church of Dragovet came to accept the distinctively Paulician doctrine of absolute dualism.

But the evidence suggests that all Bogomil churches were in some measure open to Paulician influence and that Paulician converts were able to give the Bogomils an historical respectability which the Bogomils themselves lacked. The Bogomils could not trace their origins before the middle of the tenth century and although the 900-year gap which separated the *pop* Bogomil from the apostles may not have bothered the first, simple adherents of the movement, this must have troubled Byzantine Bogomils who were better educated and who had to meet the objections of learned critics. To judge from western records the Bogomils played down their Balkan origins and emphasized their Paulician antecedents when making western converts. Certainly the name of Bogomil is not mentioned in any western record relating to the Cathars, although, of course, the Cathars and their critics were aware that the proximate sources of their faith were the Bogomil churches in the Balkans. The Cathars were popularly called Bulgars, or *bougres*, a name which has enriched many western vernaculars with a new term of abuse.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, when asked by Cathars about the origins of their church the twelfth-century Bogomils would appear to have referred to the ancient traditions of their Paulician converts rather than to their own more recent Balkan tradition.

54. M.Loos has suggested that the other name commonly given to the Cathars in the west, *popellicani* (often mistakenly rendered as *publicani* by western writers), may derive from the notorious centre of Balkan heresy, Philippopolis, or Plovdiv. M.Loos, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages* (Prague, 1974), p.118.

Our knowledge of the early history of the Paulicians is derived chiefly from the account of Peter of Sicily, sent as ambassador by Basil I to the Paulician state of Tephrike in 869-70. Although Mme. Garsoian has called in question the value of Peter's work as a primary source,⁵⁵ M. Lemerle has convincingly demonstrated that this is the earliest and fullest account of the Paulicians that we have.⁵⁶ Peter relates that the Paulicians could trace their origins securely from the reign of the emperor Constans II in the middle of the seventh century.⁵⁷ From then until 835 they were governed by a succession of *didaskaloi*, or religious teachers, who were assisted by *synekdemoi*, or companions.⁵⁸ When the last *didaskalos*, Sergius, was killed in 835 he had no successor, but two of the *synekdemoi* whom he had trained, Basil and Zosimus, were still alive when Peter of Sicily visited Tephrike⁵⁹ and so he had access to particularly good sources of information about Sergius' activities. Peter relates that each of the *didaskaloi* had taken the name of one of St. Paul's disciples mentioned in the New Testament and that they had also given the name of one of the churches founded by St. Paul to each of the churches which they founded themselves.⁶⁰

The Paulicians had seven churches and I would argue that Nicetas of Constantinople was referring to them in his sermon to the Cathars of Toulouse recorded in the Saint-Félix document:

You have asked me to tell you whether the customs of the primitive churches were light or burdensome and I tell you that the seven churches of Asia were separated from each other by defined boundaries and none of them did anything to the

55. N. Garsoian, *The Paulician Heresy* (The Hague-Paris, 1967), pp. 27-79.

56. P. Lemerle, 'L'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure d'après les sources grecques', *TM*, V (1973), pp. 17-47.

57. Peter of Sicily, *op. cit.*, c. 94, *TM*, IV, p. 41. There is general agreement that 'Constantine grandson of Heraclius' in this passage refers to Constans II, Obolensky, *Bogomils*, p. 32, n. 3.

58. Peter of Sicily, *op. cit.*, c. 183, *TM*, IV, p. 67. *Synekdemoi* derives from II Cor. viii, 19, where it describes the unnamed brother 'whose praise is in all the churches' whom Paul sent to Corinth as a companion to Titus. Obolensky, *Bogomils*, pp. 28-37.

59. Peter of Sicily, *op. cit.*, cc. 182, 188, *TM*, IV, p. 67.

60. *Ibid.*, c. 163, *TM*, IV, p. 61.

detriment of any of the others.⁶¹

Obviously this was not a reference to the Bogomil churches in Nicetas's own day, for there are only five of them in the list which he gives and all of them were in the Balkans and Greece. He could have been referring to the seven churches of Asia named in the Apocalypse of St. John: Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia and Laodicea.⁶² It is true that the Cathars held the Apocalypse in high regard and placed it immediately after the Acts of the Apostles in their canon of scripture,⁶³ but nothing in the text of St. John relates to church boundaries or organization, nor is there any indication in our sources that the Cathars interpreted that part of the Apocalypse in that sense.⁶⁴

Our knowledge of the seven Paulician churches is derived from part of a letter written by the *didaskolos* Sergius which is quoted by Peter of Sicily:

I say moreover that the church of Corinth was built by Paul; that of Macedonia by Silvanus and Titus; that of Achaea was embellished by Timothy; the church of the Philippians was ministered to by Epaphroditus; the churches of the Laodiceans, the Ephesians and the Colossians were taught the faith by Tychicus.⁶⁵

There is every reason to suppose that this letter continued to be read by the Paulicians in the twelfth century because Peter of Sicily relates that in his day the Paulicians included the letters of the *didaskalos* Sergius in their canon of the New Testament.⁶⁶ They would therefore have been made available to the Bogomils by their Paulician converts.

61. Hamilton, *op. cit.*, AFP, XLVIII, p.52.

62. Apoc., i-iii.

63. Clédat, *op. cit.*, pp.269-300.

64. Instances could be multiplied but the most striking is to be found in the Cathar Gloss on the Lord's Prayer: '*Adveniat regnum tuum...* Mais aquest Regne, co es lo fill de Dio, fe los sios fraires regne e preyles al sio Dio, aiscicom Saint Johan dis en l'Apocalis: "Johan a las vii gleisas que son en Asia; gracia a vos e pax..."'. ed. Th. Venckeleer, 'Un recueil cathare... II. Une glose sur le Pater', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XXXIX (1961), p.768.

65. Peter of Sicily, *op. cit.*, c.163, TM, IV, p.61.

66. *Ibid.*, c.43, pp.21-3.

There is no evidence that the Bogomils accorded these letters canonical authority. According to Euthymius Zigabenus they accepted the New Testament in its entirety and in the Orthodox text,⁶⁷ but it is arguable that they may have treated the letters of Sergius with considerable respect. We are accustomed to read them in the text of Peter of Sicily who glossed the information about the seven churches of Asia. He tells us that six of them were founded by Paulician *didaskaloi* who took in religion the names of St. Paul's disciples and who gave to the Paulician congregations which they founded in Asia Minor the names of churches founded by St. Paul. Thus the church of Macedonia was at Kibossa and its founders, Silvanus and Titus, were really the first Paulician *didaskalos*, Constantine of Mananali, and his successor, Symeon; the church of Achaea was at Mananali and was founded by the *didaskalos* Gegnesius who took the name of Timothy; Peter did not know the location of the church of Philippi, but said that its founder, Epaphroditus, was the *didaskalos* Joseph; and he explained that the last *didaskalos*, Sergius, the writer of the letter, was known as Tychicus in religion and founded churches at Argasoun, Mopsouesia and Kynochorion, which he named Colossae, Ephesus and Laodicea respectively. Peter did not reckon the church of Corinth among the Paulician foundations, presumably because the Paulicians themselves did not claim to have established it.⁶⁸

None of this supplementary information would have been included in the text of the letter which the Paulicians read or in that which Paulician converts made available to the Bogomils. They would have seen a letter which purported to have been written by Tychicus, one of St. Paul's most trusted assistants, to whom he refers as 'a beloved brother and faithful minister in the Lord'.⁶⁹ From what is known of their attitude to other uncanonical writings which they believed to date from early Christian or even from Old

67. Zigabenus, *op. cit.*, XXVII, 1, 21, PG, 130, cols. 1292, 1317.

68. Peter of Sicily, *op. cit.*, c.163, TM, IV, p.61.

69. Acts, XX, 4; Eph., VI, 21; Col., IV, 7; II Tim., IV, 12; Tit., III, 12. 'Calling himself Tychicus who is mentioned in the epistles of St. Paul, [Sergius] told everybody that he was the disciple of the apostle, whom he had sent to announce the word of God.' Peter of Sicily, *op. cit.*, c.152, TM, IV, p.57.

Testament times, it is reasonable to infer that the Bogomils would have treated an epistle of Tychicus with reverence. It is known, for example, that the Paulicians in the eleventh century accepted as genuine the apocryphal epistle of St. Paul to the Laodiceans,⁷⁰ a tradition which was transmitted by them to the Cathars, presumably through Paulicians who had been converted to Bogomilism, for the Cathars included this epistle in their New Testament.⁷¹ Similarly the Bogomils read the *Vision of Isaiah*, a first-century Gnostic work,⁷² and transmitted that to the Cathars as well.⁷³ Obviously Byzantine dualists sought out works which they believed to date from the apostolic age or earlier and which supported their interpretation of the Christian revelation and an alleged epistle of Tychicus would have come into that category.

There is no reason to suppose that they would have read this letter as anything more than an historical statement about the foundation of churches by St. Paul and his disciples. There is no evidence that the Paulicians attached any special symbolic value to the Pauline names which they gave to their leaders and churches. Indeed, such practices can be paralleled elsewhere in the Christian tradition in cases where it is certain that piety alone dictated the choice of names. The Paulician *didaskaloi* took the names of New Testament figures in much the same way as monks throughout the ages have taken the names of saints at their profession, while in giving their churches Biblical names the Paulicians were anticipating nineteenth-century Welsh nonconformists who called their chapels Bethesda and Salem. It is equally doubtful whether any special importance should be attached to the fact that there were seven Paulician churches, since it would appear that this number was the product of historical circumstance rather than of religious

70. 'Those of the present day recognize only the four Gospels and ... the fifteen epistles of St. Paul, because they also have an epistle to the Laodiceans.' An eleventh-century scholion on Peter of Sicily, cited by Lemerle, 'L'histoire des Pauliciens', *TM*, V, p.132.

71. Clédât, *op. cit.*, pp.432-3.

72. J.Gouillard, 'Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie. Edition et Commentaire', *TM*, II (1967), p.65.

73. It is quoted in the Gloss on the Lord's Prayer, Venckeleer, 'Un recueil cathare. II', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XXXIX, p.764.

symbolism: no new *didaskalos* was appointed after the death of Sergius in 835 and therefore no new Paulician church was founded and the number remained fixed at seven.⁷⁴

Paulician converts to Bogomilism would therefore have interpreted this letter of Tychicus in a plain, historical sense rather than in an esoteric way, but, to judge from Nicetas of Constantinople's statement, they had preserved a memory that all the churches had been situated in Asia Minor, which the names of some of them would not lead the reader to expect. It is probably safe to assume that they remembered the scattering of the Paulician churches which had followed the destruction of the movement's headquarters at Tephrike by Basil I in 878,⁷⁵ but by the twelfth century their memory of the earlier history of those churches may have grown rather dim and they may have supposed that the seven churches of Asia really had been founded in the apostolic age. They may not have supposed that all these foundations had originally been made in Asia Minor, for the evidence of many of their names suggested the contrary, but have thought that congregations had moved to more remote parts of the empire during times of persecution while retaining their original names. Such a view would be natural to dualists of all kinds, since they had no church buildings and understood the word church in its primary sense of assembly of the faithful.⁷⁶ The Cathars, formed in this tradition, certainly followed this custom when persecuted. In the thirteenth century many French Cathars fled to Lombardy to escape the inquisition, but in exile they continued to call themselves the church of France and the church of Toulouse.⁷⁷

If this argument is correct, any Cathar who wanted detailed information about the historical transmission of his faith would have had access to written records and oral traditions in his local church giving details of the succession of bishops from the time of its

74. Peter of Sicily, *op. cit.*, c.183, *TM*, IV, p.67.

75. For the date see Lemerle, 'L'histoire des Pauliciens', *TM*, V, pp.103-8.

76. E.g. Zigabenus, *op. cit.*, XXVII, 18, *PG*, 130, col. 1313.

77. 'Ecclesia Franciae morantur Veronae et in Lombardia', Sacconi, *op. cit.*, ed. Dondaine, p.70. The church of Toulouse lived in Verona, Anselm of Alessandria, *op. cit.*, ed. Dondaine, *AFP*, XX, p.310.

foundation. He would further have been told that before that time the faith derived from churches in the Balkans and the Byzantine empire and would have been given details about them.⁷⁸ If he had met a Bogomil leader, such as Nicetas of Constantinople, travelling in the west, or if, like Nazarius, Cathar bishop of Concorezzo, he had visited his brethren in the Balkans⁷⁹ and had inquired about the more remote origins of his faith, he would, it seems, have been told the Paulician version: that before the faith reached the Balkan churches it had been practised in Asia Minor until the reign of Basil I when the churches had been scattered by persecution; that there had been seven 'primitive' churches in Asia and that they had been founded by the apostle Paul and his disciples; and that the Bogomils had proof of this in the epistle of Tychicus.

This account, supported by written evidence, would have satisfied educated and inquiring Cathars who wanted proofs about the historical transmission of their faith. It is doubtful whether the Cathar churches of the west kept any detailed records of the succession to Bogomil sees, or translated any documents relating to the Paulician churches of Asia. Certainly no trace of such records remains. The rendering of Greek and Old Slavonic names into western languages would have been an obstacle to any such undertaking, though scarcely an insuperable one, and it would seem that the Cathars saw no reason to compile such records. Once they were assured that the Bogomil churches had the necessary proofs, they could simply refer to them as the source of their own tradition. In this they resembled their Catholic contemporaries: western dioceses kept lists of their own bishops, but were not, in most cases, concerned about the proofs of apostolic succession before the foundation of their own sees, because they knew that such proofs were to be found in the archive of the apostolic see of Rome.

78. It is clear from the list of Balkan and Byzantine churches given by Rainier Sacconi that such lists were kept by the Cathar churches of the west, Sacconi, *op. cit.*, ed. Dondaine, p.70.

79. The Carcassonne manuscript of the *Interrogatio Iohannis* has a colophon which reads: 'Explicit secretum hereticorum de Concorresio portatum de Bulgaria Nazario suo episcopo plenum erroribus.' Ed. E.Bozóky, *Le Livre secret des Cathares* (Paris, 1980), p.86.

Yet the proofs in which the Cathars put their trust, proofs which ultimately derived from the Paulicians, were not authentic. The epistle of Tychicus had not been written by a disciple of St. Paul but by the *didaskalos* Sergius who died in 835, while six of the 'primitive' churches to which it refers had been founded not in the apostolic age, but by Sergius himself and his predecessors in the Paulician leadership. Indeed, the oldest of the six, that of Macedonia, had been established by Constantine of Mananali who began his ministry in the reign of Constans II. So although the Cathars in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries believed in good faith that they could trace their church back in unbroken succession to the age of the apostles, they could, in fact, only get halfway there, to about the middle of the seventh century.

This view, however, fails to take into account the first of the seven churches of Asia, that of Corinth which, according to Sergius, was 'built by Paul'.⁸⁰ Peter of Sicily makes no attempt to identify this Paul with any Paulician leader, which indicates that the Paulicians themselves believed that the church of Corinth had been founded by the apostle Paul. It is arguable that the inclusion of Corinth in Sergius's list of churches may have been no more than a device to bridge the gap which he knew to exist between the apostolic age and the lifetime of the first *didaskalos*, Constantine of Mananali. Yet in that case Sergius's choice of a Pauline foundation in southern Greece rather than of one in Asia Minor seems eccentric, if his intention was to emphasize the preservation of a Pauline tradition in Asia Minor to the time of the *didaskalos* Constantine. Moreover, the other churches to which Sergius refers all continued to exist in his own day: one of his letters is written to the second of them, the church of Macedonia, founded by Constantine and living in the ninth century at Koloneia.⁸¹ The text of Sergius's letter suggests that the church of Corinth was also still in existence when he wrote, but that it was a pre-Paulician foundation, claiming apostolic origins, and that it had, to use modern terminology, 'entered into communion with' the Paulicians.

80. Peter of Sicily, *op. cit.*, c. 163, *TM*, IV, p.61.

81. *Ibid.*, c.158, *TM*, IV, p.59.

In Constantine of Mananali's lifetime there were various forms of what M. Gouillard has called 'Byzantine Old Catholicism' surviving in Asia Minor, groups which had broken away from the Great Church during the age of persecution, but which preserved their identity up to the time of the Iconoclast emperors, though not beyond.⁸² It is possible that the early Paulicians converted a congregation of adherents of some older sect and were in turn influenced by them, just as the Bogomils later converted and were influenced by some Paulicians, and that those converts formed the church of Corinth and claimed to have been founded by St. Paul himself. A memory of some event of this kind seems to lie behind the story which Peter of Sicily learned while he was staying at Tephrike: that Constantine of Mananali had sheltered a deacon who was returning to his homeland from Arab captivity in Syria, who gave him books containing the canonical gospels and epistles which Constantine began to use as his proof-texts when he preached.⁸³

Some indication of the identity of the older sect which influenced the Paulicians may perhaps be found in western sources relating to the Cathars. In the first place there is the name Cathars: this clearly derives from the Greek word *katharoi* and was the name which western dualists used of themselves. Attempts to find alternative derivations of the name have not been convincing.⁸⁴ Certainly some western writers did not understand what it meant and associated it with *cattus*, the Latin form of the German name for the *felis domesticus*.⁸⁵ No satisfactory explanation has ever been advanced about why the Cathars used this name, apart from that of Henri Grégoire who pointed out that it was the name used of themselves by the Novatians.⁸⁶ If Grégoire were right, this would

82. J. Gouillard, 'L'hérésie dans l'empire byzantin des origines au XIII^e siècle', *TM*, I (1965), pp. 300-12.

83. Peter of Sicily, *op. cit.*, c. 95, *TM*, IV, p. 41.

84. E.g. Duvernoy, *op. cit.*, pp. 302-4.

85. Alan de Lille, *De fide Catholica contra haereticos sui temporis*, I, lxiii, *PL*, 210, col. 366.

86. H. Grégoire, 'Cathares d'Asie Mineure, d'Italie et de la France', *Archives de l'Orient chrétien*, I (1948), pp. 142-51.

explain why Orthodox theologians do not use the term *katharoi* to describe the Bogomils, even though the Bogomils must have used it of themselves, since the name can only have reached the west through them. *Katharoi* in Orthodox terminology was a name reserved to the Novatians and accorded to them in canon eight of the first council of Nicaea.⁸⁷ Since the Bogomils appeared to have nothing in common with the Novatians, Orthodox theologians would have thought it confusing to call them both by the same name. If the name *katharoi* derives ultimately from the Novatians, it must have been transmitted by them to the Paulicians and thence to the Bogomils, since there is no evidence to suggest that the Novatians survived as an independent sect into the tenth century when the Bogomil church was founded.

Although the Novatians and the Paulicians appear to have little in common, there is no *a priori* reason to exclude the Novatians as a possible influence on the early Paulician movement. The Novatians went into schism in the middle of the third century because they refused to accept the decision of the Great Church to reconcile those who had apostatized during the Decian persecution. They were completely orthodox in doctrine and enjoyed a wide measure of toleration under the Catholic emperors of the fourth and fifth centuries. They were found in large numbers in the eastern provinces of the empire and were particularly numerous in Phrygia and Paphlagonia, while some isolated communities survived in Asia Minor until the end of the seventh century.⁸⁸ It would therefore have been theoretically possible for Constantine of Mananali to have come into contact with a Novatian congregation when he began to teach in the reign of Constans II.

Nevertheless, this argument would merit little serious attention if the only certain facts were that both the Novatians and medieval western dualists called themselves *katharoi*, for the use of the same name by two religious groups separated from each other in time by

87. G.D.Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 53 vols, (Florence-Venice-Paris, 1759-1927), III, p.671.

88. E.Amann, 'Novatien et Novatianisme', *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, XI (i), 845-9; R.Janin, 'Les Novatiens orientaux', *Echos d'Orient*, XXVIII (1929), pp.385-97.

half a millennium and in space by the eastern Mediterranean is not proof of even partial filiation. That is why Grégoire's theory has received so little serious attention. Yet there is a further piece of evidence which lends support to his view, the Cathar *Ritual*. The full text exists in a thirteenth-century Provençal version and part of the text is also preserved in a thirteenth-century Latin version.⁸⁹ Christine Thouzellier, in her edition of the Latin text, argued that the *Ritual* derived from western sources of the patristic age, but her thesis is not convincing.⁹⁰ The text for the administration of the *consolamentum* contained in both versions conforms very closely to Euthymius Zigabenus's description of Bogomil rites of initiation,⁹¹ while certain liturgical phrases in the opening section of the Provençal *Ritual* correspond word for word with phrases which, according to Euthymius of Acmonia, the Byzantine Bogomils used in their worship in the mid-eleventh century.⁹² In addition, an Old Slavonic version of the opening section of the Provençal *Ritual* is contained in a mid-fifteenth century manuscript, which some scholars consider is a transcription of a late eleventh- or early twelfth-century archetype.⁹³ All the available evidence therefore suggests that the Cathars obtained their service-book from the Bogomils from whom they obtained the rest of their faith.

The tenth-century Bogomils of Bulgaria described by Cosmas the priest did not use any set form of worship apart from the Lord's Prayer.⁹⁴ The *Ritual* is first attested in use among the Byzantine Bogomils in the mid-eleventh century.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, there are good reasons for thinking that the work was not composed by them. First it is extremely orthodox in sentiment and vocabulary: it is

89. Provençal text ed. Clédat, *op. cit.*, pp. ix-xxvi; Latin text ed. Dondaine, *Un Traité*, pp.151-65.

90. C.Thouzellier, *Rituel Cathare*, SC, 236 (Paris, 1977). See the critique by Duvernoy, *op. cit.*, 'Addition à la Conclusion', unpaginated.

91. Zigabenus, *op. cit.*, XXVII, 16, PG, 130, col. 1312.

92. Euthymius of Acmonia, *op. cit.*, ed. Ficker, p.77. This correspondence was pointed out by Obolensky, *Bogomils*, p.183, n.2.

93. Vatican Library, MS Borgiano Illyrico 12, ff.56r-58v, ed. C.Thouzellier, *Rituel Cathare*, pp.63-70, Table 20.

94. Puech, Vaillant, *Cosmas le prêtre*, cc. vii, xvii, xx, pp.63-4, 83, 90.

95. Euthymius of Acmonia, *op. cit.*, ed. Ficker, p.77.

difficult to detect any signs of dualism or of any other heterodox opinion in the extant versions and, as Guiraud remarked, an inquisitor could have delivered the discourses of the presiding elder to a Catholic audience without making any substantive changes in the text.⁹⁶ This suggests that it was not written by dualists, but was adapted by them from some liturgical work which had been composed for orthodox Christian use. Secondly, the *Ritual* appears to derive from very early Christian liturgical sources: Guiraud pointed this out when he examined the Provençal text⁹⁷ and Dondaine said the same in his edition of the Latin text.⁹⁸ The form of the *Ritual* therefore suggests that it antedates any Christian dualist movement except Marcionism, while its orthodox character would seem to rule out a Marcionite origin.

The Byzantine Bogomils could, of course, have adapted to their use an ancient liturgy which they had found in a manuscript collection, just as they found and used apocryphal Gnostic works like the *Vision of Isaiah*. Yet, if that is so, it is difficult to explain why they were attracted to such an orthodox text. The presiding minister in his discourse before the conferring of the *consolamentum*, for example, cites Christ's words to Nicodemus: 'Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Spirit he cannot enter the kingdom of God,'⁹⁹ a text which flatly contradicts dualist teaching about the inefficacy of baptism by water. It seems more probable that the Bogomils inherited their liturgy from some older religious group and used it in an adapted form because they believed that it represented an ancient tradition of worship. They may have received it from the Paulicians: certainly the Bogomils are first attested as using the *Ritual* at a time when other Paulician influences, like the cult of the Iconoclast emperors, make their appearance in the movement. Yet the Paulicians clearly did not write the *Ritual* since, on liturgical grounds, its composition can be dated to a period before the mid-seventh century when their sect

96. Guiraud, *op. cit.*, I, p.126.

97. *Ibid.*, I, pp.108-42, 195-6.

98. Dondaine, *Un Traité*, pp.45-6.

99. Jn., III, 5. Clédât, *op. cit.*, p.xvi.

was founded.

The precise date of the composition of the *Ritual* can only be satisfactorily resolved by experts in early Christian liturgy and so far as I am aware the texts have not yet been examined by scholars in that field. To my inexperienced eye the rite of the *consolamentum* in the *Ritual* bears a close affinity to the baptismal liturgy described in the *Apostolic Tradition* of St. Hippolytus of Rome, with the omission of baptism by water.¹⁰⁰ The orthodox and archaic nature of the *Ritual* certainly suggests a Novatian provenance: alone of the early schismatic groups the Novatians remained orthodox in faith, so much so that they were persecuted by the Arian emperors in the fourth century,¹⁰¹ while their intense conservatism makes it likely that they preserved ancient liturgical forms into the early middle ages. I would suggest that a group of Novatians joined with the early Paulicians in the seventh century and transmitted their liturgy to them and that they are the church of Corinth, the first of the seven churches of Asia, whose foundation the Paulicians themselves ascribed to St. Paul. Apart from a single phrase recorded by Peter of Sicily¹⁰² nothing is known about the Paulician liturgy, but they must have had some form of public worship and some rite of initiation and I would suggest that they used the *Ritual*, which was later transmitted by them to the Bogomils and thence to the Cathars. If this argument is true, then the Cathars and the Catholics in western Europe both used a form of public worship which ultimately derived from the third-century liturgy of the Roman see. In that case, however heterodox the Cathars' understanding of the Christian faith may have been, their claim that 'the church of God has preserved this holy baptism ... from the time of the apostles until now' was not entirely without foundation.

100. B. Botte, ed., *La Tradition apostolique de Saint Hippolyte, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen*, 39 (Münster-Westfalen, 1963), pp. 38-53.

101. Janin, 'Les Novatiens orientaux', *Échos d'Orient*, XXVIII, pp. 389-92.

102. Peter of Sicily, *op. cit.*, c. 156, *TM*, IV, p. 59.

XIII

SEPTUAGINT ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE BOOK OF JUDGES IN MANUSCRIPTS OF THE COURT SCHOOL OF SAINT LOUIS*

TAMAR AVNER / JERUSALEM

The study of Old Testament iconography in the middle ages has repeatedly demonstrated that while Byzantine biblical illustration was unresponsive to Western art, century after century it acted as a reservoir of iconographic and stylistic ideas which were absorbed and assimilated by the West as by a dry sponge. This continuous input enriched the latter's repertoire and often affected the course of its development. The phenomenon, in itself indicative of the richness of the manuscript traditions of Byzantine Old Testament illustration, often makes it difficult to determine when a new impulse reached the West. The question is whether a given work of art, for which a Byzantine source is postulated, presents an iconography which was the result of a new confrontation with a recent import from the East, or whether it displays an assimilation of Byzantine formulae dating from an earlier period, which by subsequent copying had already been incorporated into Western tradition. Some knowledge of the availability of Byzantine illustrated manuscripts in the West would be of great value in answering this and other questions, but information about the traffic in such

* This paper is dedicated to Professor Kurt Weitzmann on the occasion of his 80th birthday. It forms part of my doctoral dissertation which was written with his generous assistance and inspired by his stimulating example.

biblical books, which were undoubtedly the chief vehicles of transmission of Old Testament narrative sequences, is practically non-existent. It is the purpose of this paper to shed some new light on East-West contacts as they are reflected in Byzantine and French miniatures. These yield valuable information on the nature and the extent of a number of lost Byzantine sources which were available in Paris after the Fourth Crusade. A comparison will be drawn between a group of scenes based on Chapter 19 of the Book of Judges which occur in two Greek manuscripts of the Early Comnene period, and another group of Parisian deluxe productions of the 13th century which are considered to be the earliest fully illustrated Bibles to have survived in the West.

The Book of Judges, which consists of a string of stories woven around heroic figures, ends with three chapters which form an exception to this pattern and describe the civil war between the tribes of Israel and Benjamin. Chs. 20 and 21 are devoted to the preparations for battle and the tactics of three consecutive engagements, but Ch. 19 focusses on the cause of the war and tells the story of the rape of the concubine of a wayfaring Levite who took shelter for a night in the house of an Ephraimite sojourning in Gib'e-ah, a city in Benjamin. As a consequence, the woman died. Whereupon the Levite took her home on his ass and cut her body into twelve pieces and sent messengers with the pieces throughout the land and called on the eleven tribes to avenge the outrage.†

It should be remarked at the outset that in contrast to the popular heroic figures and associated stories in Judges, the Levite episode was rarely picked as a subject for artistic rendering in the middle ages. Samson's feats, for instance, appear already in the 5th century in frescos and mosaics which contain detailed narrative sequences based on the biblical text.¹ Also, some Jephthah scenes

† Quotations from Judges 19 and 20 are taken from the Revised Standard Version.

1. The earliest series in Roman catacomb paintings are given in A. Ferrua, *Le pitture della nuova catacomba di Via Latina* (Vatican City, 1960), figs. CV, CIX; see also a detailed cycle in a floor mosaic in E. Kitzinger, 'Observations on the Samson Floor at Mopsuestia,' *DOP*, xxvii (1973), pp. 133 ff., with earlier

on a marble panel from the pre-Iconoclastic period have recently been uncovered in Sinai.² The story of the Levite did not attract the same attention, and its few occurrences are restricted to miniatures, bound either to the text of the Scriptures or to a paraphrase.³ Thus it can be deduced that the Levite scenes were as a rule transmitted together with the accompanying explanatory text, a connection which proves to be an advantage for our investigation into the availability of Byzantine illustrated biblical manuscripts and their use as models. Furthermore, no evidence has been found of Levite scenes prior to the 9th century in the East and none whatever before the 13th in the West. Hence, we do not have to deal with difficult issues of traditions which might ultimately be derived from lost Early Christian sources in the West, issues which inevitably encumber the study of Old Testament narrative illustration in other contexts. These two factors limit the scope of this paper to manuscript paintings produced in the span of the middle Byzantine period.

The most significant example of a Levite sequence, though not the earliest, is the sequence which recurs in four of the six manuscripts known as the Octateuchs,⁴ those bulky and narratively illustrated Bibles produced between the 11th and the 13th century, most probably in Constantinople. They consist of the first eight books of the Septuagint and are adorned with hundreds of framed miniatures which are dispersed within the text beside the passages to which they refer. With minor differences, they present the same compositions for the three Levite scenes. The earliest, Vatican gr.

literature.

2. K. Weitzmann, 'The Jephthah Panel in the Bema of the Church of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai,' *DOP*, xviii (1964), pp. 341-352.
3. K. Weitzmann, 'The Question of the Influence of Jewish Sources on Old Testament Illustration,' in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination* (Chicago-London, 1971), pp. 86-87, fig. 65.
4. For a list with bibliography, see K. Weitzmann, 'The Illustration of the Septuagint,' in *Studies*, p. 53, note 18; and for colour photographs of Vatopedi 602, see P. Huber, *Bild und Botschaft* (Zurich, 1973), pp. 9-164. Recently J. Lowden, 'The Production of the Vatopedi Octateuch,' *DOP*, xxxvi (1982), pp. 115-126 has demonstrated on codicological grounds that Vatopedi 602 was copied from the 12th century Vatican gr. 746.

747 (fols. 253v, 255r), as yet unpublished, is of the second half of the 11th century; Vatican gr. 746 (fols. 499r, 510v), also unpublished, and the copy of the Evangelical School in Smyrna destroyed in a fire (fols. 255r, 257v)⁵ are both of the 12th century, and Athos, Vatopedi cod. 602 (fols. 451r, 455v, 456v) is of the 13th century.⁶ The three Levite scenes provide a very sparse coverage for the events recounted in the three chapters of Judges. The first depicts an incident at the end of chapter 19 (19:28), as the example from the Smyrna Octateuch demonstrates in fig.1. The Levite is shown driving the ass which is carrying the body of the dead concubine as they proceed from left to right. The corpse is tied up and lies on a mattress with a blanket over its feet, playful elaborations on the original iconography, no doubt. Fig.2 presents a miniature with two battle scenes divided into two registers. In the upper, two Israelites out of a group depicted on the left set fire to a city, which may be Gib'e-ah or may represent those destroyed in the final stages of the war ('And all the towns which they found they set on fire' [Jud. 20:48]). Below, the pursuit and annihilation of the tribe of Benjamin is depicted: a large group of Israelites on the left stick spears into a heap of dead bodies on the right, above which a closely knit group of men turn away and represent the remnant of Benjamin who escaped and took refuge at the Rock of Rimmon (Jud. 20:45-47).

These few scenes raise important questions regarding the source of the sequence and the nature of the Octateuch cycle as a whole. The text in Judges is rich in dramatic detail and has a truly epic quality which lends itself easily to narrative illustration. The three scenes provide scanty illustration and do not represent the climactic points in the story. The choice of the episodes illustrated is random and shows no concern for narrative continuity. It is strange that the sequence does not start at the beginning of Ch. 19 and entirely misses out the account of the rape. One cannot avoid the conclusion that the Octateuch scenes were extracted from a fuller and more extended sequence of scenes based on the Septuagint and were

5. D.C.Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'Octateuque grec de Smyrne* (Leiden, 1909), figs.331 and 332.

6. Huber, figs. 160-162.

copied from an earlier manuscript with miniatures of the same Octateuch tradition.

Fortunately, this hypothesis finds external support in a pair of closely related Greek homiletic books of the Early Comnene period, which were produced at about the same time as the earliest of the Octateuchs and preserve two very extended Levite sequences. In both, the profuse illustration accompanies a close paraphrase of the Septuagint version of Jud. 19-20. The text forms an integral part of a Nativity homily composed by an anonymous author in the 8th century.⁷ This in turn has been inserted into another Nativity sermon by Gregory of Nazianzus, in the first manuscript, a Constantinopolitan manuscript which is now kept in the Library of the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem, cod. Taphou 14, and which was painted in the early sixties of the 11th century in the finest *style mignon*.⁸ Among the more than fifty miniatures which adorn it are many narrative scenes which are arranged vertically, without frames, in the right-hand column, physically close to the text they illustrate in the left-hand column. In general, the details of the Old Testament miniatures correspond to the Septuagint version for which they were originally composed. No less than sixteen unpublished miniatures of a Levite cycle are included and appear on six pages between fols. 108 (109)v and 111 (112)v, arranged in chronological order, two or three to a column. The second Levite sequence is found in a *menologion* on Mount Athos, Esphigmenu Monastery, cod. 14, produced in the early 12th century and decorated with more than 100 scenes which have been reproduced in colour in the published corpus of illuminated manuscripts on Mount Athos.⁹ As in Taphou 14, the pictures appear in

7. An up-to-date exhaustive bibliography accompanies a description and analysis of the sources of this unedited eclectic text in T. Avner, *A Comparison of the Illustration of the Homily on the Nativity in the Manuscripts Mount Athos, Esphigmenu Monastery, Cod. 14 and Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate Library, Taphou Cod. 14* (Ph.D. dissertation, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1978), pp. 1 ff., esp. pp. 26-28 and p. 29, note 3.

8. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Hierosolymitiki Bibliotheke*, i (St. Petersburg, 1891), pp. 45-63, and up-to-date literature in Avner, pp. 48-50.

9. S.M. Pelekanidis, P.C. Christou, Ch. Tsioumis, S.N. Kadas, *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, ii (Athens, 1975), figs. 395-407, and the bibliography on pp. 361-2 supplemented by Avner, p. 52.

the right-hand column but with the addition of frames and gold background. Of twenty Levite scenes more than half are unique compositions, but six were surely copied from an earlier illustrated biblical manuscript, although in a few details the source used was somewhat different from Taphou 14. A comprehensive discussion of all these miniatures would carry us far beyond the limits and scope of this paper. Attention will therefore be focussed on a few scenes based on Jud. 19, which have close iconographic parallels in an important group of biblical manuscripts produced in Paris between 1227 and 1270 at the court *atelier*. The extended cycles of these Parisian manuscripts enable us to place the two Levite sequences in the Taphou and Esphigmenu codices within the mainstream of Byzantine illumination.

Concerning the Parisian biblical manuscripts, it should be emphasized that there was no precedent in French illumination for the richness and quality of their extended cycles and that they are virtually the earliest fully illustrated Bibles to have survived in the West. They were produced in a period when a heightened interest in illustrated Bibles seems to have received new impetus from a flourishing court culture and from the rapid growth of the mendicant orders charged to travel and preach the Scriptures.¹⁰

One characteristic type of manuscript from the court workshop of this period is the extravagant Moralized Bible whose every page is designed to imitate a stained glass window of a contemporary cathedral. In each, eight medallions are fitted into two columns beside passages of a biblical paraphrase. Read vertically from top left, they contain scenes of incidents from the Bible alternating with medallions which present a parallel series of scenes dealing with their moral and allegorical interpretations.

On fol. 119 (fig. 3) belonging to a manuscript in the Bodleian Library (MS 270b), part of a Moralized Bible with more than 600 pages, which is divided between Oxford, London, and Paris and dated to around 1230-1240,¹¹ the third medallion in the right-hand

10. On the general artistic atmosphere and cultural background, see R. Branner, *St. Louis and the Style of the Court School* (London, 1969).

11. A. de Laborde, *La Bible Moralisée illustrée conservée à Oxford, Paris, et Londres* (Paris, 1911-27), i, fig. 119. The date and recensions of the Moralized

column opens a Levite sequence which is accompanied by a paraphrase of Jud. 19:1-12 in Latin. The Ephraimite is seen in an archway on the right inviting the Levite to his house with hand gestures, and the latter is followed by the concubine and the servant who are overlapped by an ass. The composition recurs in other Moralized Bibles, but with some iconographic modifications it figures also in a closely related later *de luxe* manuscript of the same court school in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (M638), a famous fragment consisting of pages covered with whole-page miniatures with Old Testament scenes, originally part of a biblical picture book or a psalter.¹² Fig. 4 shows¹³ the Ephraimite both inviting and leading the Levite by the hand to his house. The entire group is advancing to the right headed by the Ephraimite who, with his left hand, points at his house and turns his head back to the Levite. The concubine and servant follow overlapped by the pair of asses mentioned in Jud. 19:3. In this last detail, Morgan 638 is more faithful to the Bible than the Octateuchs (fig. 1, above). However, the same iconography occurs in a parallel scene in Esphigmenu 14 (fig. 5). The Byzantine artist, however, was forced to make some changes in the original horizontal composition in order to fit it into the elongated space of the miniature which fills the whole column. He contrived the diagonal slope which descends from the top right to bottom left and separates the figures. The Levite accompanied by

Bibles in general are discussed comprehensively by R.Haussherr, *Bible Moralisée. Facsimile Ausgabe in Original Format des Codex Vindobonensis 2554 des österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Paris, 1973), pp.31 and 39; also, *idem.*, 'Sensus literalis und sensus spiritualis in der Bible Moralisée,' *Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster*, vi (1972), p.363.

12. S.C.Cockerell, *Old Testament Miniatures. A Medieval Picture Book with 283 Paintings from the Creation to the Story of David* (London, 1969). A recent and thorough discussion is H.Stahl's, *The Iconographic Sources of the Old Testament Pierpont Morgan Library M.638* (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1974), available in Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1975. In more than one instance, Stahl proves that the Moralized Bible and M638 share a common model to which they refer back independently (e.g., p.35). Figs. 4, 10, 13 are taken from S.C.Cockerell's original publication of the manuscript (*A Book of Old Testament Illustrations of the Middle of the Thirteenth Century* [Cambridge, 1927]).
13. Cockerell, no.105.

the concubine leads the two asses by the halter and the servant-lad is placed before them while the elderly Ephraimite walking up to his house is in the forefront at the bottom. He, too, points at the house and turns his head back as in Morgan 638, a gesture which implies that the figure was copied from a horizontal alignment of the figures which follow him. Due consideration is, of course, given to differences in the forms of the architectural settings, garments, and minor details deriving from difference of style. A trained eye, however, will distinguish between these and the basic figural configuration. In Morgan 638, a more articulate execution of the background and a steady design present a sophistication which contrasts with the simple and severe composition in Esphigmenu where clarity of narrative is emphasized. Despite the changes, the common source is not disputable and harks back to an illustrated Septuagint manuscript, which is better reflected in the Latin manuscript than in the Byzantine one.

The second scene of the Levite sequence in the Oxford Moralized Bible illustrates Jud. 19:22-23. On fol. 120r (fig. 6),¹⁴ the men of Gib'e-ah, Sodomites, are at the door and demand that the Ephraimite bring the Levite out to them. In a window of the house on the right the latter is seen gesturing anxiously, with the concubine. The spokesman of the ruffians on the left, a group of beardless men in short dress carrying three upright swords, raises his right arm across his body and addresses the bearded Ephraimite who responds with a similar gesture, dramatizing his request that his guest be not harmed and offering his daughter and the concubine instead.

With some iconographic differences due to schematization and corruption, a similar composition is found in two parallel scenes in Taphou 14 and Esphigmenu 14.¹⁵ In the latter manuscript, the scene (fig. 8) occupies the lower half of the column and appears to have been compressed so as to fit the elongated space of the miniature. The Sodomites in short dress on the left have multiplied into a large

14. Laborde, i, fig. 120r. The same iconography is preserved in an earlier copy of the Moralized Bible in Vienna, see Haussherr, *Facsimile*, p.80; *Text*, p.53.

15. Pelekanidis et al., ii, fig.400, pp.381-2.

crowd which is squeezed inside the left frame. The hand gestures vary and the swords have been omitted, but as in the Oxford Bible, the spokesman is set in relief, by the red color of his dress, and he holds a stick in his left hand – an iconographic corruption of a sword – and is about to fling a stone held in his raised right hand. Both objects, swords and stones, have an explanation in the text of the Bible. It should be noted that swords carried in scabbards or displayed erect recur in other scenes of the Levite sequence in the Oxford Bible as well as in Morgan 638. Especially noteworthy are those which are included in scenes which are not battles (see figs. 6 and 7, top right medallions, as well as the third right in fig. 7; see also fig. 11 below). There are eight references in Jud. 20, which is devoted to a description of the battles, to the valiant use of swords by the warriors on both sides. Thus the miniature in Esphigmenu anticipates Jud. 20:15-16 which praises the men of Gib'e-ah for their dexterity in handling their weapons. The verse reads, 'And the Benjamites mustered out of their cities on that day twenty-six thousand that drew the sword, besides the inhabitants of Gib'e-ah, who mustered seven hundred picked men. Among all these were seven hundred men who were left-handed; every one could sling a stone at a hair, and not miss.' This description is fully dramatized in the third left medallion in fig. 7, an illustration of the episode in Jud. 20:12-17 in which, after taking counsel at Bethel, the representatives of the eleven tribes go up to Gib'e-ah and demand the surrender of the men guilty of the rape. Note how a sword is brandished and stones are hurled with either hand by the men of Gib'e-ah on the battlements. The Oxford Bible thus clarifies the meaning of the spokesman's gestures in Esphigmenu 14, but the latter indicates that the ultimate source of both sequences is an illustrated Septuagint manuscript. Furthermore, it can be deduced that the original iconography, which was obviously closely dependent on the text, has been preserved in a purer state in the Oxford Bible than in Esphigmenu 14, notwithstanding the fact that the latter was a Byzantine manuscript.

To carry the argument a step further, it is possible to identify the ultimate source shared by the Oxford Bible and Esphigmenu 14 as

one which was also shared with the Octateuchs. This cannot be done directly because the scene in question, the Sodomites demanding the Levite, is not included in the shortened sequence in the extant in the Octateuchs. But the suggestion receives some support from two parallel representations of a battle scene in Vatican gr. 747 and in Vatopedi 602¹⁶ in which one of the warriors in the forefront of the group of attacking Israelites ostentatiously raises a sword in a sweeping movement of the arm while the others fight with spears. This evidence acquires added significance in view of the consensus that these two copies of the Octateuch generally reflect a purer iconographic version of the cycle than any other extant Octateuch manuscripts.¹⁷

The Sodomites demanding the Levite appears also in Taphou 14 (fig. 9) in the upper of two miniatures, rendered in a very schematic manner.¹⁸ The architectural setting is very similar to that in Esphigmenu but with the addition of a wall as a backdrop to the figures which present a stock conversational group commonly met in paintings of this period. The hand gestures in particular are stock speaking formulae, and no swords are to be seen. Apart from the short dress, shared here by the Ephraimite and the Sodomites alike, a white beard has been added to one of the men. This miniature obviously stands at one remove further away from the hypothesized archetype which was based on the text.

Immediately below in fig. 9 is the scene of the Surrender of the Concubine by the Levite, based on Jud. 19:25. The setting is

16. Vat. gr. 747, fol. 255r, unpublished. Weitzmann argues that Vat. gr. 747 preserves the Octateuch cycle closest to the text (*The Joshua Roll* [Princeton, 1948], pp.14-17). In Vatopedi 602 (Huber, fig. 162) one of the Israelites raises a sword while the others carry spears.
17. Both Weitzmann and Stahl have observed that despite the high degree of uniformity in the surviving Octateuchs, Vatican gr. 747 and Vatopedi 602 reflect iconographies which reproduce the archetype more accurately, see K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex* (Princeton, 1970), figs. 16, 18.
18. Taphou cod. 14, fol. 109 (100)v. The first number refers to the pagination in the manuscript which has skipped a page, 51a, retained in the Greek catalogue of Papadopoulos-Kerameus. The number in brackets refers to the confusing 'correction' introduced by K. Clark, *Checklist of Manuscripts in the Library of the Greek Patriarchate in Jerusalem Microfilmed for the Library of Congress* (Washington, 1950).

repeated, and the Levite in a long dress is seen at the door of the house on the right handing over the concubine to the Sodomites on the left. She wears a red dress and a white turban-type of hat; she is embraced by the spokesman who stands slightly behind and to her side, with his arms around her, while she turns and looks reluctantly at her master still with his hands touching her shoulder. She is also pulled to the left by the hand and her left arm is drawn across her body exhibiting a long sleeve which is very wide at the wrist and tapers down to her knee. With minor differences in gestures and garments an almost identical composition is repeated in the second scene of the sequence in the Oxford Bible. In the third medallion of the left-hand column in fig. 6, the Sodomites, who are characterized as before, embrace the concubine with more agitated and emphatic gestures. The group as a whole is not tightly arrayed as in Taphou, but there is a gap between her and the spokesman, who is drawing her to the left, sufficiently large to show a sword hanging on his thigh from his belt.

The two scenes of the Sodomites demanding the Levite and the Surrender of the Concubine also figure consecutively in Morgan 638 (fig. 10).¹⁹ This page is divided by an architectural frame with very slender columns into four compartments, each with one scene, read from left to right and top to bottom. The first is a banquet where the Ephraimite and his daughter on the left entertain the concubine and the Levite on the right. They are all sitting behind a large table and are being served by a small-sized servant in front. This miniature is unique among the known Levite sequences but it is based on the first part of Jud. 19:21. It is not possible to determine whether it is an *ad hoc* contribution of the artist or a part of the original illustration which served as his source. But it should be remarked that Esphigmenu 14 also has a unique scene in the same place in the sequence (the upper scene in fig. 8). Instead of a banquet, it has the Ephraimite washing the Levite's feet in a composition for which the central group is borrowed from the iconography of Christ Washing the Apostles' Feet.

19. Cockerell, pp.96-7, fig.108.

In Morgan 638, the next two scenes presented in the top right and bottom left compartments vary in some important respects from the parallels in the Oxford Bible and Taphou 14. In the first, the Sodomites demanding the Levite, the original scheme has been reversed with the Ephraimite at the door on the left. In addition, he is shown leading out his daughter with one hand and pointing at her with the other. This detail seems to have been transferred from the next scene, the Surrender of the Concubine, which is rendered in the bottom left compartment without this group and presents only the maltreatment of the woman. This composition differs from those of Taphou, the Oxford Bible, and Esphigmenu which consistently combine the actual surrender by the Levite at the door with the Sodomites' seizure of the concubine (see top register in fig. 11).²⁰ The concubine in Morgan 638 is assaulted from both sides and from behind by four men arranged in a symmetrical composition: the two in front hold her arms on each side while the two behind reach under her arms, one laying a hand on her breast, the other encircling her body at the waist. The Sodomite on the left, like the spokesman in the previous scene, ostentatiously holds a sword upright while two others carry an axe and an unidentified weapon respectively. The manner in which she is attacked is violent and varies from the gentler way in which she is embraced and pulled away in Taphou and the Oxford Bible. Nevertheless, the more violent variant is derived from a Byzantine source. For this motif appears in Esphigmenu 14, where it forms part of the Surrender (see top register in fig. 10). In particular, this scene clearly reproduces the attack from behind by a man who reaches under her arms and touches her breast.

In Esphigmenu, the Surrender of the Concubine is immediately followed by the scene of her release the following morning (Jud. 19:25-26), which is depicted in the lower half of the same columnar miniature. The Release is missing from the sequence in Morgan

20. Pelikanidis et al., ii, fig. 401. This assault from behind (but excluding the Sodomite's arm under her armpit and his hand on her breast) has been compared to Samson's capture and binding in Vatican gr. 746, fol. 492, 493. See Stahl, p.207.

638. In Esphigmenu (fig. 11) a large number of Sodomites are crowded together on the left; two, in the front, are bending over the concubine, one holding her outstretched hand, the other her breast. The first carries a rod or stick in his right hand, in all probability a corruption of what was originally a sword in the archetype. The woman is crouched on the right with one leg stretched forward beside a pool of blood; her outstretched arms display the wide tapering sleeves of her pink dress in a style observed also in Taphou. This composition has no parallels and differs from the representations of the Release in all the other manuscripts considered so far. In Taphou, the first of three columnar miniatures shown in fig. 12 shows the woman lying on her face at the threshold, one hand stretched out, as detailed in Jud. 19:27-28. Three Sodomites in long dress are seen hurrying away on the left and two look back in an attitude which often represents escape in battle scenes of this period. The setting includes the Ephraimite's house on the right and a back wall, a decorative feature which is repeated in the next miniature with the scene of the Levite Finding her in the Morning, where the servant also appears, and the two men standing at her head express their grief by holding their hands over their mouths. By comparison, in the Oxford Bible the Release and Finding in the Morning are merged in one medallion (fig. 6, top right). Here the Sodomites leave the scene on the left in almost the same escaping attitude as in Taphou, except for the upright sword which is held by the spokesman in his left hand. His right arm passes across his body and under his left arm in a twisted and awkward manner as he points at the falling woman, suggesting that he has just released hold of her; she falls limply backwards with bent knees at the feet of her master who stands at the doorway of the house on the right. Her body is contorted and she seems to combine a crouched position of the legs with a prostration in the upper part, face downward.

The most vivid rendering of the Levite Finding her in the Morning is the one which figures in Morgan 638, represented in the bottom right compartment in fig. 11. As in Taphou, the concubine here is prostrate and stretches out one hand on the threshold. She is rendered more naturalistically in a scene which is enriched with

details and with the addition of the Ephraimite, who replaces the servant and is shown at the window, and of his daughter whose head is seen at the door as she looks over the Levite's shoulder. The Levite, whose portrayal is similar to that in Taphou in essentials, expresses his grief with a hand raised towards his face.

The next episode in the Levite cycle, the Departure of the Levite with the Dead Concubine (Jud. 19:28) is included in all the manuscripts discussed excepting Esphigmenu. Remarkably, none of them repeat the composition observed earlier in the Octateuchs (fig. 1, above). Nevertheless, the affinity to the Octateuchs is clearly indicated in Taphou 14 where the Departure is depicted in the third miniature at the bottom of the column in fig. 12. It contains the same motif of the corpse of the concubine on the ass; but the mattress and blanket are missing, and, with a humorous touch, the protruding feet are shown tied to the lifted tail of the donkey. Unlike the Octateuchs, the ass is preceded by the servant who pulls the halter; the Levite follows grieving with a hand covering his mouth; both men ride horses up a slope. As in the Octateuchs, the procession advances from left to right, a trait which is shared by all renderings of the Departure. In Taphou the original iconography can be shown to be an assimilation to two other miniatures in this manuscript which do not belong to the Levite cycle but to a sequence of the Infancy of Christ, in which the three Magi journey on galloping horses, first towards Bethlehem and then back to their own country (on fols. 98[99]v and 104[105]r).²¹ The adjustment of the Levite's Departure was probably made so as to give it a more balanced composition and also for the sake of artistic coherence, and was probably introduced by Taphou 14.

The parallel scene of the Departure in the Oxford Bible (fig. 6, right-hand column, third medallion) occupies the same place in the sequence. The iconography, however, is different: the concubine is not dead but sits upright on the ass which the Levite leads by the

21. Photograph of the first in J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, 'Iconography of the Cycle of the Infancy of Christ,' in *The Kariye Djami*, iv, ed. P. A. Underwood (Princeton, 1975), fig. 50a; a photograph of the second in G. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, iii (Paris, 1905), fig. 37.

halter, and in addition the servant bringing up the rear steadies her on the ass. This iconography is not based on the Septuagint and occurs earlier in the East in a Levite sequence in the 9th-century manuscript of the *Sacra Parallella* by John of Damascus, Paris, B.N., MS gr. 923, recently published by Weitzmann.²² Yet another variant of the Departure, which can be related to the Octateuch tradition, displays the corpse lying crosswise on the ass. In this fashion, it occurs also in Morgan 638 (fig. 13).²³ On fol. 16b of the latter, the journey with the dead concubine is combined with the next two episodes of the sequence in a continuous frieze-like composition; this fills the upper register which is mechanically divided into two compartments by a slender column. The conflation has obviously led to a serious compression of the scenes and crowding of the figures. The Levite, distinguished by a hat and holding a whip, is advancing to the right but he has been placed on the far side of the ass carrying the corpse. Immediately to the right there follows the scene of the Levite hewing the naked corpse of the concubine on a table, while a severed arm and leg are shown suspended underneath. The table has been 'pushed' towards the centre to make room for two bonnetted men carrying the head and an arm and walking away to the right. These two and another six figures in the background, who express horror and dismay by different hand gestures, belong to a third scene, the Distribution of the Parts of the Concubine (Jud. 19:29-30).

A similar abbreviation of the archetypal sequence, in which two scenes, the Levite Hewing the Concubine and the Distribution of the Parts, are combined, occurs also in the Oxford Bible (fig. 7, top left). Here, twelve messengers, complying with the Bible, are seen as a group departing on the left. Three of them carry severed limbs of the corpse. As in Morgan 638, the Levite stands to the right of the table, but here he uses a large knife instead of a sword. This

22. A summary of the views for an Italian and against a Palestinian provenance, in A. Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne (IXe-XIe siècle)* (Paris, 1972), pp.22-23. Weitzmann suggested tentatively a Jewish source for the live concubine on the ass, see 'Jewish Pictorial Source', in *Studies*, pp.86-87.

23. Cockerell, fig. 109.

difference of instrument is not insignificant.

In Taphou 14, the two scenes of the Hewing and the Distribution of the Parts are depicted separately, seen in the upper and middle miniatures of the column in fig. 14. Each is represented by a single narrative unit; the chronological order of events in the text is preserved. The clarity of the Taphou illustration implies that it reflects the correct sequence of the Octateuch recension on which the conflated version in the Parisian examples is based. Framed by two structures on either side, the first miniature shows the Levite approaching from the left with a raised sword and touching the foot of the naked concubine stretched out on a table. In the next, two messengers in short dress (possibly the Levite and his servant carrying the typical Byzantine traveller's bundle on a stick across the shoulder) approach from the right. The first offers a broken arm with a dangling hand to a group of eleven men on the left who represent the assembly of the eleven tribes (according to Jud. 19:29-30). Three in the foreground are seated and two of them wear gold crowns, obviously the chiefs. One of the latter holds a severed head and the other touches the broken hand offered. The assembly of the tribes in Mizpah is mentioned also in Jud. 20:1. To judge by the details, the scene in Taphou may well be based on a combination of these two passages, the sending out of the messengers with the severed parts and the Levite's pleading before the assembly of Israel at Mizpah.

The question suggests itself as to which of the two manuscript traditions, the French or the Byzantine, preserves more faithfully the original illustration of the Septuagint in the ultimate source shared and variously adapted by all the surviving examples. This problem can fortunately be solved with the evidence provided by one medallion in the earliest Moralized Bible known which is now in the Cathedral of Toledo in Spain, and is as yet unpublished.²⁴ The medallion in fig. 15 shows two groups confronting each other.

24. Closest to the Oxford copy, the place and date of the Toledo copy in the general stemma of Moralized Bibles is discussed by Haussherr, *Text* vol., pp.28 ff. The photograph used in fig. 15 belongs to the collection of the late Prof. Branner, and has been reproduced by courtesy of Columbia University, New York.

The Israelite elders are on the left – given pointed Gothic ‘Jewish’ hats – and include three seated chiefs in front, one in full view while the other two on either side are partially overlapped. The central figure touches the hand dangling from a broken arm which is offered to him by one of twelve messengers. This motif is precisely as in Taphou 14. The Toledo miniature, like that in Taphou, clarifies the combinations and abbreviations of the cycle that have been introduced both in the Oxford Bible and in Morgan 638. But it should be noted that the severed head, which appears in Oxford, Taphou and Morgan 638, is omitted in Toledo, a fact which implies that this miniature also is not entirely true to the archetype which must have included this detail on the evidence of its occurrence in both Eastern and Western manuscripts.

A last comment will be made on the matter of the different instruments used by the Levite in the Hewing scenes. It will be noted that Esphigmenu 14 uses an entirely different iconography (fig. 16, bottom register). The Levite here is on the left bending over the half naked body of the dead concubine which he lifts up from the ground with his left hand while he cuts away at the waist with a large knife held in his right hand. The corpse is arched and the head falls back on the right. The two arms which have been removed lie parallel on the ground below her head. The knife shown does not correspond to the sword mentioned in the accompanying text of the homily which paraphrases the Septuagint. This implies that the miniature was not originally composed for the homily but was copied from a biblical manuscript. The word *δομφαίαν* is defined by an eleventh-century text as meaning a heavy iron sword carried suspended from the right shoulder.²⁵ The word occurs in the Greek version of the Bible in Codex Vaticanus (Codex B) which for the most part is the text used in the illustrated Octateuchs under discussion. The Septuagint version of the Codex Alexandrinus, on the other hand, has *μάχαιραν*, which means a dagger or large knife; accordingly Jud. 19:29 reads, ‘And he took a large knife and he took hold of his concubine and divided her, according to her bones, into twelve parts, and sent them unto all the

25. Michael Psellus, *Chronographia*, ed. and tr. E. Renauld, ii (Paris, 1928), p. 165.

tribes of Israel²⁶ A similar emphasis on the manner in which she was dissected occurs in the paraphrase of the story in the *Jewish Antiquities* of Josephus, a work which exerted a great influence in the middle ages. Although no instrument is specified here, it is explicitly stated by Josephus that the Levite divided her 'limb by limb' (κατὰ μέλος).²⁷

Different versions of the Septuagint obviously influenced the choice of the alternative instruments and gave rise to two different iconographic schemes: one, based on the Codex B version, has the Levite raising the sword and the naked corpse on the table, as in Taphou 14; the other, based on Codex A, has the Levite using a dagger to dismember the concubine's corpse which is raised from the ground, as in Esphigmenu 14. It remains unclear whether the latter scheme was originally devised for a biblical manuscript as a variant within the Octateuch recension or first formed part of an illustrated Josephus and was later copied into a biblical cycle in manuscripts of the Octateuch recension.

The Esphigmenu formula, at any rate, was not invented *ad hoc* for this miniature but was undoubtedly copied from a Byzantine model, a biblical manuscript of a type which travelled westward and was consulted by artists in the Parisian court *atelier* of Louis IX. This is established by one parallel example in one of the most luxuriously decorated psalters made for Saint Louis between 1252 and 1270, Paris, B.N., MS lat. 10525.²⁸ Fig. 17 presents one of many frontispiece, whole-page miniatures with biblical scenes placed in pairs before the text. The two scenes are set within an elegant architectural framework which is rendered in contemporary *rayonnant* style, with furbished gold background, and are separated by a slender colonnette as in Morgan 638. In both compartments, two episodes of the Levite cycle have been merged. On the left, a Sodomite in front pulls the concubine by the wrist and stretches his

26. *Septuaginta*, ed. A. Rahlfs, i (Stuttgart, 1935), p.485: καὶ ἐπελάβετο τῆς παλακῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμέλισεν αὐτὴν κατὰ τὰ ὀστὰ αὐτῆς εἰς δώδεκα...

27. Josephus, *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, v, 149, ed. and tr. H. St. J. Thackeray and R. Marcus, v (London-Cambridge Mass., 1958), pp.68, 69.

28. *Saint Louis Psalter. Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. lat. 10525, Facsimile* (Graz, 1972), fol. 63v.

left arm around her shoulders to embrace her, while at the door of the house to the right the usual figure of the Levite has been replaced by a young Sodomite. Essentially, this is an adaptation of the Surrender of the Concubine seen in Taphou 14 and in the Oxford Bible, where the concubine is assaulted by one man. Placed immediately above and pushed into the background is the scene of the Sodomites Demanding the Levite where the figures are represented by busts; the Ephraimite with a beard is in the doorway and gesticulates pleadingly to a group of Sodomites on the left. The compression of two scenes into such a small space results in much abbreviation and the omission of the lower halves of the bodies in the background. In the right-hand compartment, the composition of the Levite Finding the Concubine in the Morning has been reversed and is depicted in front. Immediately above, the Levite is seen bending over the arched figure of the dead concubine and is about to cut off one of her arms with a raised sword. The attitude of the concubine with the head thrown back is reminiscent of that in Esphigmenu; so too are the pieces of the other arm hewn at the joints, which lie below the body on the ground. Apart from the sword, the scheme and the details derive from the same Byzantine source, although the sword points to a mixture of the versions of this scene. In fact, the whole sequence in the psalter reflects a mixture of the pictorial variants of the Levite cycle as preserved in the two distinct traditions of Taphou 14 and Esphigmenu 14. Since Byzantine manuscripts provide no evidence that a mixture of the two Octateuch recension variants had occurred in the East, it seems likely that Western artists who were ready to modify their Byzantine sources, made free use of different models in their depiction of these episodes in the Levite cycle.

To conclude, the analysis of several sets of parallel scenes from the Levite cycle, as it is presented in the six sequences which have been examined, suggests strongly that they shared a common source in an extended Octateuch recension which was based on the illustration of ch. 19 of the Septuagint. Each of the manuscripts which have been studied, whether Byzantine or French, independently harks back to this unusually dense cycle which, in certain

details, corresponded so closely to the text that two variants can be distinguished in the subsequent manuscript traditions, which correspond to the two major textual versions of the Septuagint, the Codex A and the Codex B, which differ significantly in the Book of Judges. Furthermore, the extant Octateuchs seem to form but a meagre proportion of a rich tradition of Old Testament illustration which was presented in manuscripts where the text was broken up into small units so as to accomodate detailed narrative sequences. Since the story of the Levite was less popular than the heroic episodes in Judges, it seems likely that these manuscripts contained other equally detailed sequences for heroes such as Samson, Gideon and others. It seems reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the hypothetical source took the form of a single volume devoted to the Book of Judges.

A second conclusion may also be put forward, that richly illustrated manuscripts of the Old Testament were circulating in Byzantium by the second half of the eleventh century at the latest and that they were transmitted to the Parisian court *atelier* in the 13th century by copies of a purer iconographic quality than any of the extant Byzantine manuscripts which have been examined. No evidence has been found to suggest that they were handed down through earlier Western intermediaries.²⁹ In other words, the Byzantine influence evident in the French Levite cycles was probably transmitted recently,³⁰ by some very fine Eastern manuscripts, possibly of the Comnene period, collected in the East and brought over to France under Saint Louis. Confirmation of the direct link between Byzantine models and the French Bibles which is suggested by the iconography is provided by the similar layout of the miniatures in vertical columns parallel to the text. In the Parisian manuscripts this format is decoratively exploited in a number of

29. However, the 'wholesale migration of Byzantine iconography and Byzantinizing style from English to French illumination during the period about and just after 1200' (noted by H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* [Oxford, 1957], p.56) may point to a circuitous route of transmission of Old Testament illustration *via* England.

30. Stahl, pp.229-30.

elaborate ways and reaches a peak of sophistication when it is combined with designs borrowed from stained glass in the Moralized Bibles.

XIV
BYZANTIUM BETWEEN EAST AND WEST (XIII-XV
CENT.)

NICOLAS OIKONOMIDES

The purpose of this paper is to put forward some hypotheses concerning the late Byzantine empire. It is largely based on observations which are scattered through my recent publications, and attempts to fit them together into a general synthesis. This is why the footnotes contain more references to recent secondary literature than to primary sources. Moreover, for the sake of clarity, I have deliberately adopted a schematic approach, which inevitably cannot do justice to the full variety of the historical phenomena. The reader of the following pages may often feel the need to add a nuance. Yet, I hope that, in spite of these shortcomings, the general picture that is presented may help promote a better understanding of Palaiologan society.

I am not going to stress the exploitation of Byzantium's resources by the Italians. Undoubtedly there was such exploitation but individual Byzantines also participated in it.¹ In any case, loss of

1. Several important recent works discuss late Byzantine commerce, businessmen and cities. I have put together the previous bibliography, including the works of K.-P. Matschke and of Vera Hrochová, in my *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIIIe-XVe s.)* (Montreal-Paris, 1979). Other important contributions on the subject have appeared since then: Angeliki Laiou Thomadaki, 'The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System; Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries', *DOP*, xxxiv-xxxv (1982), pp.177-222; same author, 'The Greek Merchant of the Palaeologan Period: a Collective Portrait', *Praktika of the Academy of Athens*, lvii (1982), pp.96-139; K.-P. Matschke, 'Geldgeschäfte, Handel und Gewerbe in spätbyzantinischen Rechenbüchern und in der spätbyzantinischen Wirklichkeit', *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus*, iii (1979), pp.181-204; same author, 'Bemerkungen zu den sozialen Trägern des spätby-

trade revenue caused by the privileges and franchises of Western merchants was undoubtedly less than loss of agricultural revenue, caused by war, including the civil war. Economic and financial problems were certainly very important, but there were also problems of social structure and problems of ideology, which were no less real and acute, but which have not yet been adequately studied. I shall focus on them, and shall attempt to document the importance of ideological confusion and social disruption.²

At least two XIVth century Constantinopolitan priests, when reprimanded for canonical errors, declared that they were fed up with their countrymen and threatened to abandon the city and join 'either the Franks or the Turks': the schismatic Christians or the infidel Muslims. These declarations, made in public, were too much for the ecclesiastical authorities and the priests were punished by the patriarch.³ Yet such declarations, coming as they did from

zantinischen Seehandels', *Byzantino-bulgarica*, vii (1981), pp.253-261. New sources have come to light, such as Italian notarial documents: M. Balard, *Gènes et l'Outre-Mer II. Actes de Kilîa du notaire Antonio di Ponzò (1360)* (Paris-The Hague-New York, 1980); the edition of the Venetian notary Antonio Bresciano, who was in Constantinople in 1350, announced by Laiou, 'The Greek Merchant', p.104, no.15; valuable information concerning Byzantine trade with Egypt can be found in P. Schreiner, 'Byzanz und die Mamluken in der 2. Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts', *Der Islam*, lvi, 2 (1979), pp.296-304 and in Ch. Verlinden, 'Marchands chrétiens et juifs dans l'Etat mamelouk au début du XVe s. d'après un notaire vénitien', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique Belge de Rome*, li (1981), pp.19-86, especially pp.70-71, 76, 83. The Byzantine account books discovered by P. Schreiner, 'Kupcy i tovary Pričernomor'ja: fragment vizantijskoj kontorskoj knigi', *Byzantino-bulgarica*, vii (1981), pp.215-219, are likely to be of particular importance.

2. Important papers on Palaiologan society, its structures and their evolution were presented at the XVIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Vienna (1981). See, in particular, Lj. Maksimović, 'Charakter der sozial-wirtschaftlichen Struktur der spätbyzantinischen Stadt', and K.-P. Matschke 'Sozialschichten und Geisteshaltungen', *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Akten*, i, 1 (Vienna, 1981), *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, xxxi, 1, pp.149-188, 189-212.
3. F. Miklosich-J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi*, i (Vienna, 1860), p.456; ii (Vienna, 1862), p.55: documents of the years 1365 and 1383. Cf. J. Darrouzès, *Les Regestes des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople*, i, 5 & 6 (Paris, 1977 & 1979), nos.2478, 2759. It is worth noting that almost identical

churchmen, indicate, more than anything else, a lack of orientation on their part. Was this an individual or a collective problem?

Byzantium between East and West? Obviously, given its position, the empire was always exposed to influences from either side. But what seems to me important in these last centuries of its existence, is that these influences – and the reaction that they provoked – were distributed in an increasingly uneven way between city and countryside and thus contributed to the disorganization of society and of the once powerful Byzantine state. To put it bluntly: I shall try to show that, during the Palaiologan period, the large Byzantine cities developed similarities with Western ones, while the countryside remained faithful to tradition and, with time, came to look more and more oriental, and to develop affinities with the neighbouring Turks, whose institutions were also influenced to a considerable extent by middle Byzantine models.

In the XIIIth century, the Western policies of Michael VIII, especially the Union of the Churches at Lyons (1274), could not but provoke a reaction. First of all a religious one: all levels of society were shocked by the official submission to the pope, in spite of the obvious political gains that it brought. Opposition surfaced within the emperor's immediate family, but it was far more outspoken in the provinces. The monks, the vast majority of whom were provincials, led the anti-Western resistance. They were followed, with almost complete unanimity, by the population of the countryside, whereas, in the great cities, the anti-Western reaction was considerably milder. The reaction of the military in the Asia Minor provinces, which was increased and complicated because of the problems created by Michael VIII's usurpation of the throne, was particularly intense and thus attracted punitive countermeasures. The *akritai*, who until then had resisted the Turkish onslaught, were crushed, while the Asiatic troops, who were often used by Michael VIII in European campaigns, left the eastern frontier undefended,

expressions are used in these two documents, written independently of each other: ἀπελεύσομαι εἰς Φράγγους ἢ Τούρκους – εἰς τοὺς Φράγγους ἢ εἰς τοὺς Τούρκους μέλλει ἀπελθεῖν. One is left with the impression that this was a phrase frequently repeated, which thus became a formula.

so that Asia Minor fell to the Turks in the early XIVth century.

In the European territories which still remained under Byzantine control the tenurial and fiscal systems retained much of their traditional character.⁴ The fundamental principle, that of an individual's right to full ownership of land, was derived from Roman law. Despite the distorted view of rural society induced by the imbalance in the surviving archives, which are almost all of monastic origin, it is possible to discern the presence of a certain number of free small landowners throughout the Byzantine countryside in the XIVth and first half of the XVth centuries. They become visible when they decide to sell or donate their small estates to monasteries.⁵ But this form of land-tenure was in the minority. The kind of farmer that one meets much more often is the one known as *paroikos*: a dependent peasant who, initially, was supposed to rent someone else's land, cultivate it and share the crop with his landlord.⁶ Yet

4. On the patterns of tenure and the fiscal system prevailing in the Byzantine countryside during the XIVth century, there are several recent publications: J. Lefort, 'Fiscalité médiévale et informatique: recherche sur les barèmes pour l'imposition des paysans byzantins au XIVe siècle', *Revue Historique*, dxii (1974), pp.315-352; A. Laiou, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire* (Princeton, 1977); Z. Udál'cova-K.V. Chvostova, 'Les structures sociales et économiques dans la Basse Byzance', *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Akten*, i, 1 (Vienna, 1981), *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, xxxi, 1, pp.131-147 (with reference to previous important works on the subject, published in Russian, mainly by Ksenija Chvostova). Several points of detail are discussed in the commentary on individual documents; and a general synthesis on the basis of the Lavra archives has been presented by N. Svoronos in *Actes de Lavra*, iv, ed. P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, Denise Papachryssanthou (Paris, 1982), pp.65-149. See also the following footnotes.
5. For example: *Actes de Kuthumus*, ed. P. Lemerle (Paris, 1945), no.35; *Actes de Xéropotamou*, ed. J. Bompaire (Paris, 1964), nos.12, 16; *Actes d'Esphigménou*, ed. J. Lefort (Paris, 1973), no.29; *Actes de Lavra*, ii, nos.78, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88; iii, nos.143, 153; *Actes de Docheiariou*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Paris, 1983), no.47; etc.
6. See G. Weiss, 'Die Entscheidung des Kosmas magistros über das Parökenrecht. Ein Beitrag zur Rechtsgrundlage bäuerlicher Ansiedlungen in Byzanz', *Byzantion*, xlviii (1978), pp.477-500; and, more recently, Udál'cova-Chvostova, *loc. cit.*; J. Karayannopoulos, 'Ein Problem spätbyzantinischen Agrargeschichte', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, xxx (1981), pp.207-237; M. Kaplan, 'Remarques sur la place de l'exploitation paysanne dans l'économie rurale

one has to stress here as well, that most of the *paroikoi* also had private property of their own, which was usually cultivated intensively. Although such property was normally too small to support the *paroikos* and his family, it constituted commonly a substantial percentage of the land which he was able to cultivate. Such private property is always mentioned in the *praktika*, and was taxed by the state.⁷ Moreover, it is important to note that *paroikoi* were able to add to their property by their own efforts: thus if a *paroikos* built a water-mill on someone else's land, he would acquire full ownership of one half of the mill.⁸ Only the *xenoi kai to demosio anepignostoi*, the *eleutheroi*, were by definition deprived of all real estate in the late Byzantine period.

On the other hand, it has to be stressed that in late Byzantium the meaning of the term *paroikos* had changed. A word which, in the XIth century, had designated a form of economic dependence – a free peasant, who rented someone else's land – acquired by the XIVth an essentially social meaning – a peasant who paid his taxes to a private person, this taxation being perceived as the sign of dependence *par excellence*. Thus, in the Xth and XIth centuries, the best proof of ownership, was to pay the taxes due from a piece of land.⁹ By the end of the XIth, we first come across the notion that if a man paid his taxes to an individual – and not to the state – he might be considered the *paroikos* of this individual and lose his ownership of the land.¹⁰ In the early XIVth, we find the priest Modenos who asked for and obtained exemption from all taxes

byzantine', *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, xxxii, 2 (1982), pp.105-114; and my contribution "Ἡ Πείρα περὶ παροίκων", to appear in *Hommage à Nicolas Svoronos*.

7. Laiou, *Peasant Society*, pp.158 ff.

8. Cf. my *Actes de Docheiariou*, nos.11 and 40.

9. The idea is still expressed with great clarity in documents of 1262, in which those who have full property rights over land (defined as coming from 'hereditary rights' and 'tax paid to the State': γονικῶ δικαίῳ καὶ τέλει δημοσιακῶ) are contrasted with those who pay rent (ἐπιμόρτως): Βυζαντινὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς μονῆς Πάτμου, i, Αὐτοκρατορικά, ed. Era Vranoussi (Athens, 1980), nos.29 and 30.

10. *Actes de Lavra*, i, no.46.

from the emperor because he was afraid that he might be considered a *paroikos*.¹¹ The Xth century principle was completely reversed.

The explanation for this reversal should be sought in the development of the institution of the *pronoia*, which was essentially a grant made by the emperor to his servants and soldiers, for the term of their lives, of the right to collect a specified sum of money due to the state from a number of peasants – who thus became the pronoiar's *paroikoi*. These peasants might well include small landowners, who thus paid taxes but no rent to the pronoiar.¹² Consequently, only landowners who paid no taxes were certain never to become *paroikoi*. The next step was that whoever paid taxes to the state came to be viewed as a *paroikos* of the state. This extreme view was made easier to accept by the existence of a large number of tax-exempt properties in the Byzantine countryside.

Contemporaries considered these tax-exempt properties to be *pronoiai* – and that is indeed what they were. In the XIVth century *praktika*, the terms *pronoia* and *oikonomia* are generally used of estates belonging to 'the relatives of the emperor, those of the other *archontes*, those of the soldiers, of the church institutions, of monasteries etc.'¹³ Enumerations such as this lead to the conclusion that ecclesiastical and monastic *pronoiai* were, in fact, estates held in full ownership, which were exempt from tax. Church institutions and monasteries thus received an additional revenue, equal to the taxes from which they were exempt, in return for their prayers. A similar situation can be postulated for many – if not all – of the

11. *Actes de Chilandar*, ed. L. Petit, Appendix to vol. xvii (1911) of *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, nos. 14 and 15 (the second document has been republished with commentary by F. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges* [Munich, 1948], no. 15). Cf. F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, iv (Munich-Berlin, 1960), nos. 2331 and 2628.
12. A good example of small landowners who became *paroikoi* is that of the Gounaropoulos brothers, John Poleas and Nikodemos Planites, known from the cartulary of Lembiotissa: see G. Ostrogorsky, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine* (Brussels, 1954), pp. 65–69, 75–76, 80 (with references to the sources).
13. E.g. F. Dölger, *Sechs byzantinische Praktika des XIV. Jh.* (Munich, 1949), p. 66, cf. p. 93; *Actes de Xéropotamou*, no. 18E; *Actes d'Esphigménou*, no. 15; and many others, equally or less explicit.

pronoiai of lay *archontes*, both relatives of the emperor and others, with the difference that they had to provide the state with real service, in the army or the administration, instead of prayers. These lay *archontes* were great landowners, who served the state and received as a reward tax-exemption for their own land.¹⁴ They owned large estates, so that the taxes from which they were freed amounted to something between 150 and 830 gold coins – substantial sums compared to the 70-80 *hyperpyra* which was the average annual revenue from the *pronoia* of a heavily armoured horseman in the XIVth century.¹⁵ Their ownership of these tax-exempt estates can be demonstrated from the donations which these grand pronoiars made to monasteries for the salvation of their souls: they gave parts of their *pronoia* – domains, without any temporal restriction – whereas a regular soldier's tenure of a *pronoia* was always limited to a defined period (see *infra*).

And this brings us to a last question concerning the *pronoia*. Its transformation into a hereditary institution has always been seen as the culmination of the 'feudalization' of Byzantium. I suggest that the importance of hereditary *pronoiai* has been exaggerated. There can be little doubt that general grants of apparently hereditary *pronoiai*, such as those made by Michael VIII Palaiologos, involved a limited number of soldiers and were not free of temporal restrictions. The *pronoia* was to be inherited by the soldier's son only, after which it would revert, as usual, to the state. Proof of this is provided by two documents of the monastery of Docheiariou, in which it is clearly stated that the *pronoia* was hereditary only from father to son and no further; and it is confirmed by a careful reading of other documents, which appear to grant hereditary rights to soldiers' sons, together with the obligation of continuing to serve the state. These turn out to be normal military *pronoiai*.¹⁶

14. E.g., *Actes de Docheiariou*, no.26.

15. I have tried to put together some figures representing the annual revenue of XIVth cent. *pronoiai* in: 'A propos des armées des premiers Paléologues et des compagnies de soldats', *Travaux et Mémoires*, viii (1981) (Homage à M. Paul Lemerle), pp.353-355.

16. The question is discussed in *Actes de Docheiariou*, nos.13 and 14, cf. p.161.

Thus the prime influence on the evolution of social relations in the Byzantine countryside was that of imperial tradition. Rural society had not been remoulded by Western influence. The fundamental difference remained that social position was still defined with reference to full ownership of land. This also differentiated the Byzantine social order from that of the Ottomans, among whom, according to Islamic theory, private land ownership was abolished almost completely, to the profit of the sultan. Yet, the Ottoman system was partly modelled on Byzantine institutions as they evolved in XIIth-XIVth century Asia Minor, and was based on a similar principle, that most donations of state revenue – essentially the *timars* – were limited to the span of a single life and were very seldom hereditary.

The relative compatibility of the two systems, the Ottoman and the Byzantine, can be seen in the ease with which Ottoman domination was accepted by Byzantine peasants. It can also be seen clearly in cases where land was returned to Byzantine hands after a period of Turkish occupation – for instance, the region of Thessalonica which was conquered by the Ottomans in 1384-1387 and restored to the Byzantines by the treaty of 1403. What happened there is fairly well known thanks to the Athonite archives. Under the Ottomans, there was no change in the possession of land, but there was a sharp increase in taxation, mainly in the Turkish state tax or *kharadj*, and an even sharper decrease of the rent which peasants had to pay their landlords, a rent which here again tended to become a kind of tax. The net effect was that there was a decrease in the total of payments due from the peasants – who are now classified once again as *zeugaratoi*, *boïdatoi*, etc., according to the Byzantine model of the XIIth century –, while there was a considerable increase in state revenues. The Ottoman fiscal burden was lighter than the Byzantine one – and this could not but improve the sultan's popularity among the peasantry.

It is particularly significant that when the Byzantines returned to the region of Thessalonica they maintained the fiscal *status quo*, presumably because they did not dare test the peasants' loyalty by increasing their fiscal burden. On the other hand, in order to

restore the benefits that traditionally stemmed from property rights, the emperor gave monastic land-owners two thirds of the *kharadj*.¹⁷ It has to be remembered here that these were the very monasteries which, in 1384, had led the move to side with the victorious sultan against the pro-Western emperor.¹⁸

A quite different impression is given by the Byzantine cities of the Palaiologan period, especially the major ones such as Constantinople and Thessalonica, the urban character of which was well established. Middle Byzantine terminology relating to urban institutions survived but there had been a radical change in its use. The prestigious office of the *eparchos* (prefect of the city) had become a mere honorific title without any powers or functions.¹⁹ The terms *demos* and *demarchos*, continuously attested until 1453, no longer had anything to do with the long abandoned hippodrome, nor with sport, nor even with politics: the XVth century *demarchoi* were heads of neighbourhoods, very similar to the ones that we know from Italian cities of that period.²⁰ The guilds also survived, but had radically changed by acquiring a corporatistic and capitalistic character, which sometimes makes them resemble business associations or companies.²¹ Here again the organization was very similar to its contemporary Italian equivalent.

These and other institutional changes undoubtedly resulted from the new economic system and the new economic practices and methods which had been introduced into Byzantine cities under the powerful influence of the Italian colonies. A serious attempt was

17. The question of the survival of the Ottoman fiscal system in Byzantine Chalkidike after 1403 is considered in the commentary on *Actes de Docheiariou*, no.53 and, in more detail, in my paper 'Ottoman Influence on late Byzantine Fiscal Practice', read at the Third International Congress on the Economic and Social History of Turkey (Princeton, 1983), *Südost-Forschungen* (1986).
18. I defended this point of view in 'Monastères et moines lors de la conquête ottomane', *Südost-Forschungen*, xxxv (1976), pp.1-10; cf. now *Actes de Lavra* iv, p.46.
19. See R.Guillard, 'Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'empire byzantin. L'éparque', *Byzantinoslavica*, xli (1980), pp.17-32, 145-179.
20. Cf. my *Hommes d'affaires*, pp.106-107.
21. *Ibid.*, pp.108-114; a different point of view is expressed by Maksimović, 'Charakter', pp.161 ff.

made by Byzantine businessmen to participate in international trade. During the first century of the Palaiologoi, this was more or less limited to the developing middle class of the great cities, the *mesoi*, whose presence is repeatedly mentioned in the sources of the first half of the XIVth century and who are clearly distinguished from the 'real' aristocracy.²² At the same time we also hear of city-revolts, directed against the aristocracy. Most of them occurred at the beginning of the civil war of 1341-1347, when mobs, led by supporters of the legal Emperor John V, turned against the aristocrats because they were supporting the pretender to the throne, John Kantakouzenos. The most important and best known of these revolts is that of the Thessalonican Zealots. In all cases, the sources show clearly that the 'people of the market' or the sailors played a predominant role in guiding the mob. The fact that some of their leaders bore glorious aristocratic names, such as the Palaiologos who led the Zealots, should not by any means be considered a contradiction. After all, we know of many nobles who have served revolutionary causes. It is also worth stressing that these Byzantine revolts preceded similar uprisings in Italy, such as that of Simone Boccanegra in Genoa, by several years. It is even more noteworthy that John Kantakouzenos, a traditional landed aristocrat *par excellence*, describes the Genoese revolt in terms similar to those which he uses of the Zealots.²³ It is clear that in his view this was an international phenomenon – almost an 'international conspiracy'. Moreover we know that when in 1347 John Kantakouzenos at last made a triumphant entry into the Byzantine capital, the people of the market, his opponents, started passive resistance, and thus forced him to take their aspirations seriously.²⁴ But by then an alliance between aristocrats and businessmen was in the making.

Some years ago I suggested that it was at approximately this

22. *Hommes d'affaires*, pp.115 ff.; cf. Maksimović, 'Charakter', pp.184 ff.; *idem*, 'Bogataši Aleksija Makrembolita', *Zbornik Radova*, xx (1981), pp.99-109.

23. Ioannes Cantacuzenus, *Historiae*, iv, 26 (cf. iv, 32), ed. L.Schopen, iii (Bonn, 1832), pp.197-8 (cf. pp.235, 236-7).

24. *Hommes d'affaires*, pp.47 ff.

time, the middle of the XIVth century, that the Byzantine aristocracy, which had always inhabited the cities but had lived off the profits of the land and had shunned trade, started investing money in business and participating in the world of commerce. I attributed this change to the fact that during and after the civil war of 1341-1347 these aristocrats had lost much of their land to the Serbs, Turks etc., and had nowhere else to invest such capital as they still retained.²⁵ I still cannot see how this hypothesis can be contested on the basis of sources posterior to the civil war of 1341-1347.²⁶ If one re-examines all the information available, one realises that before 1341 there were practically no aristocrats – even simple bearers of aristocratic names – who engaged in trading activities.²⁷ In contrast, from 1347 onwards, the number of aristocrats involved in trade grew dramatically and constituted a very large percentage of the total number of known businessmen. The Byzantine aristocracy belatedly started showing a certain economic flexibility. Traditional prejudices disappeared.²⁸ The urban upper class of Byzantium was at last united in purely capitalist aspirations. In this it was following the Italian example.

Similar conflicts appear in the field of ideology. Of course, what I am going to discuss now concerns only small groups or individuals belonging to the elite, but here again a split appears between the

25. *Hommes d'affaires*, pp.120 ff.

26. Laiou, *The Greek Merchant*, pp.104-105.

27. It is obviously difficult to prove that there was no case of an aristocrat, who engaged in trade before 1341: what can be said with certainty is that our scanty sources do not provide any clear and incontrovertible example. Thus, I do not count as evidence of business activities, the fact that a man with an aristocratic name borrowed money, or sold his crop. It is important to stress here that even transactions of this sort are very seldom attested in the pre-1341 sources.

28. Such prejudices, although discarded by late Byzantine aristocrats, never disappeared completely. In a document of 1400 the patriarch of Constantinople declares that the profession (ἐπιτήδευμα) of saltmaker (ἀλικιάρχης) is not honourable (ἄτιμον), yet it can be followed by a priest, provided that he works personally and does not 'buy and sell it' for the purposes of trade (ἐμπορίας). We find here the distinction between a profession which is 'low' because it is manual, and trade, which is even 'lower', because it involves the idea of profit: Miklosich-Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, ii, pp.436-437 (of the year 1400).

mentalités prevailing in the cities and those of the countryside. The latter, conservative, attached to the Byzantine tradition, was always staunchly anti-Latin. The pro-Latin movement, minuscule though it was, was confined to the cities, especially the large ones, which were more exposed to – and better informed about – the Italians and their ideas. Byzantine businessmen – and all those who aspired to become businessmen – tried hard to obtain Venetian or Genoese citizenship,²⁹ in order to be better integrated into the economic life of these cities. Thus they abandoned traditional values. A similar divergence can be discerned in relation to the Hesychast movement: mystical, oriental, conservative, this movement, which was based on Mount Athos, was accepted by an elite in the provincial monasteries. If one reads the extant lives of the Hesychast saints, one realises how astonishingly few and provincial were the Athonite Hesychasts. The opposition to them came from the people of the cities, those of Thessalonica, who opposed Gregory Palamas, and those of Constantinople, who opposed the whole movement until the moment when it was imposed upon them by John Kantakouzenos, the representative *par excellence* of the landed aristocracy. Is it a coincidence that this same Kantakouzenos was also the principal advocate of a Turkish alliance, while the Palaiologoi, together with the business community, expected help from the Latins?

In the great cities, new 'humanistic' attitudes started to develop. Gemistos Plethon, the Neo-platonic philosopher, was the great star. He was the head and originator of the 'Hellenic gang', which drew on some of its members the wrath of 'well-thinking' ecclesiastics. All the 'modern' intellectuals turned their attention resolutely towards classical antiquity. The great scholars and humanists of the XVth century, John Argyropoulos, Bessarion, Ianos Laskaris, Markos Mousouros, were educated in the Byzantine East, mainly in Constantinople and Thessalonica.

This brings me to a text which sheds new light on XVth century

29. To the literature that I analysed in *Hommes d'affaires*, pp.124-127 one should now add D.Jacoby, 'Les Vénitiens naturalisés dans l'empire byzantin: un aspect de l'expansion de Venise en Roumanie du XIIIe au milieu du XVe siècle', *Travaux et Mémoires*, viii (1981) (Hommage à M.Paul Lemerle), pp.217-235.

Byzantine society in these two cities: it is a letter of invective written by John Argyropoulos against a well-known Constantinopolitan judge.³⁰ In a series of amusing anecdotes, the adversary is accused of all kinds of vice: an unbridled sexual life with homosexual overtones; a consistent failure to command the respect of society, which is shown springing practical jokes on him, or laughing at his drunkenness or his natural awkwardness, etc.; dishonesty; illiteracy, etc. All these charges are presented in a most archaic way, according to the rules of ancient rhetoric. We have here a new literary fashion, which we also know from Italy: the humanistic invective, made famous because of the great quarrels that opposed personalities such as Poggio Bracciolini, Francesco Filelfo, and Lorenzo Valla. But it should be noted that the comparable Italian texts were written a decade after the invective of Argyropoulos. Rather than imitating any Western models, he was plainly cultivating a new kind of humour, which was accepted in Constantinople at approximately the same time as in Italy.

The humour of a society says much about its ideals and its values. The style of humour in Argyropoulos's invective does not use the metaphors that characterize medieval satire: it is direct, it concerns a specific, very tangible individual. Moreover, it describes a society with attitudes completely different from those of the middle ages. Religion is pushed to the side; churches are mentioned as settings for pranks. The same irreverence characterizes social attitudes towards the palace or the law court, which are also used as scenes for practical jokes involving all levels of society. All this is very un-medieval and very humanistic. This joking, flippant society of the cities, marching towards a renaissance, has nothing to do with that of the sombre Hesychastic monks.

Here again we find characteristics that clearly distinguish the late

30. Jean Argyropoulos, *La Comédie de Katablattas*. Invective byzantine du XVe s., éd., trad. et comm. par P. Canivet et N. Oikonomides, Δελτία, iii (1984), pp. 1-97. The ideas expressed here, concerning Byzantine humanism, humour and XVth century society, are dealt with in detail in this publication, to which the reader is referred. For an interesting general survey of the period and of its problems, see I. Medvedev, *Vizantijskij Gumanizm XIV-XV vv.* (Leningrad, 1976).

Byzantine city from the countryside: the great cities, and particularly their upper class, resemble those of Italy in their economy, in their social structure, in their dominant aspirations and ideologies: while the countryside remains oriental and opposed to the West.

Subsequent events should therefore occasion little surprise. The countryside, with the monasteries leading the way, inclined towards the Turks when danger appeared, well before the actual conquest. The cities, on the other hand, tried to remain independent with the help of the Westerners as in the case of Constantinople, or even invited in the Italians to protect them from the Ottomans as in the case of Thessalonica in 1423, when the upper class called in the Venetians.³¹ But such limited resistance could not possibly hold up the advancing Turkish tide.

31. The relevant documents have been published by K.Mertzios, *Μνημεία Μακεδονικής Ιστορίας* (Thessalonica, 1947), pp.30 ff. In Thessalonica – as well as in Constantinople – there existed an important political movement, mainly among the lower social strata, that favoured the idea of surrendering to the Turks: D.Balfour, *Politico-Historical Works of Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica* (Vienna, 1979), pp.157 ff.

PLATES



Fig.1 Pendant (Byzantine, 7th century). Photo: author, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

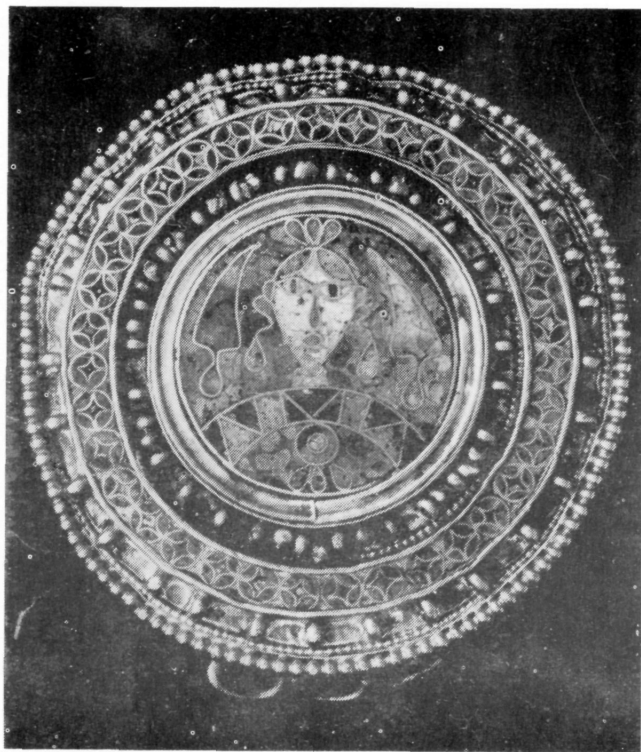


Fig.2 The Castellani Brooch (Lombardic, 8th century). Photo: author, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

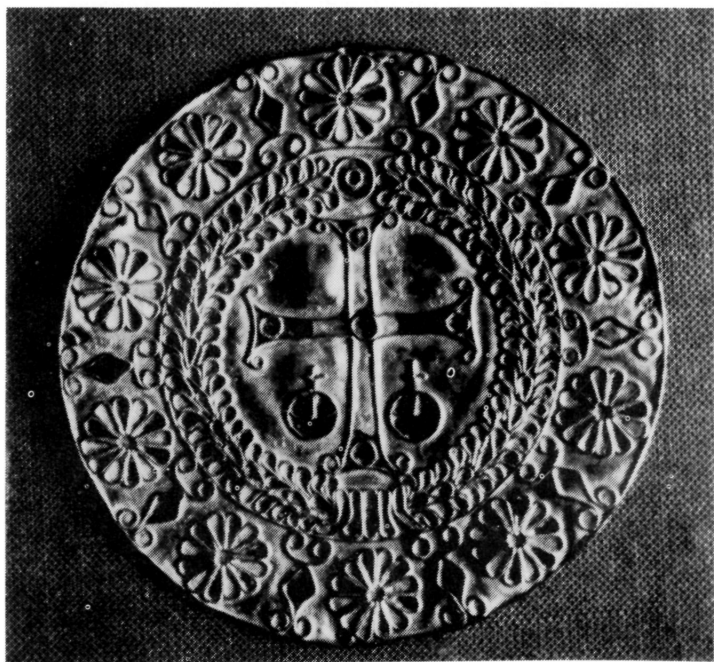


Fig.3 Medallion. Photo: Judy Rudoe, courtesy of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland.



Fig.4 Medallion (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles). Photo by courtesy of the Réunion des Musées Nationaux.

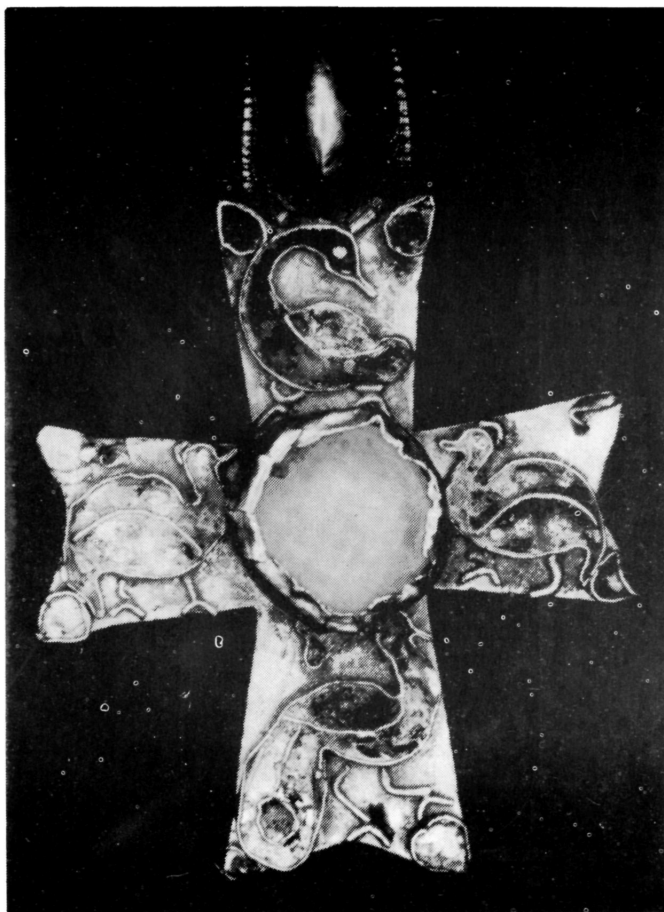


Fig.5 Pendent cross. Photo: author, courtesy of the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection, Washington, D.C.

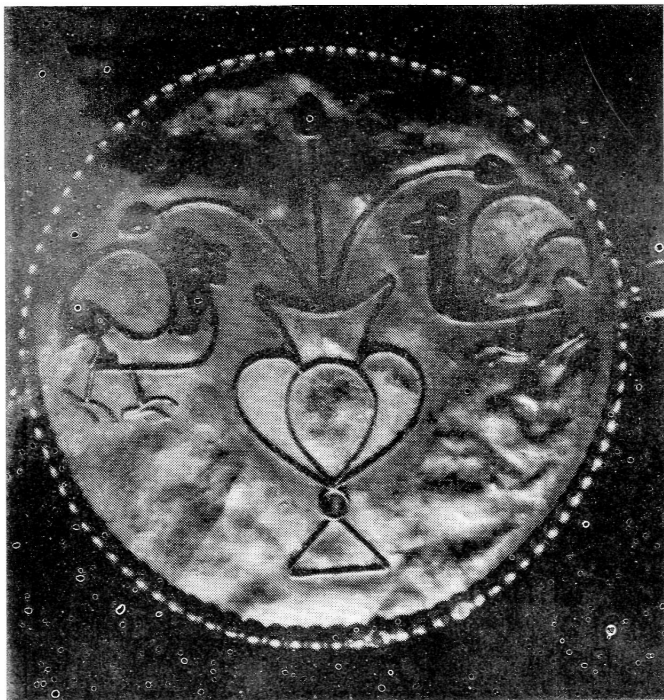


Fig.6 Medallion, part of a necklace. Photo by courtesy of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Mainz.

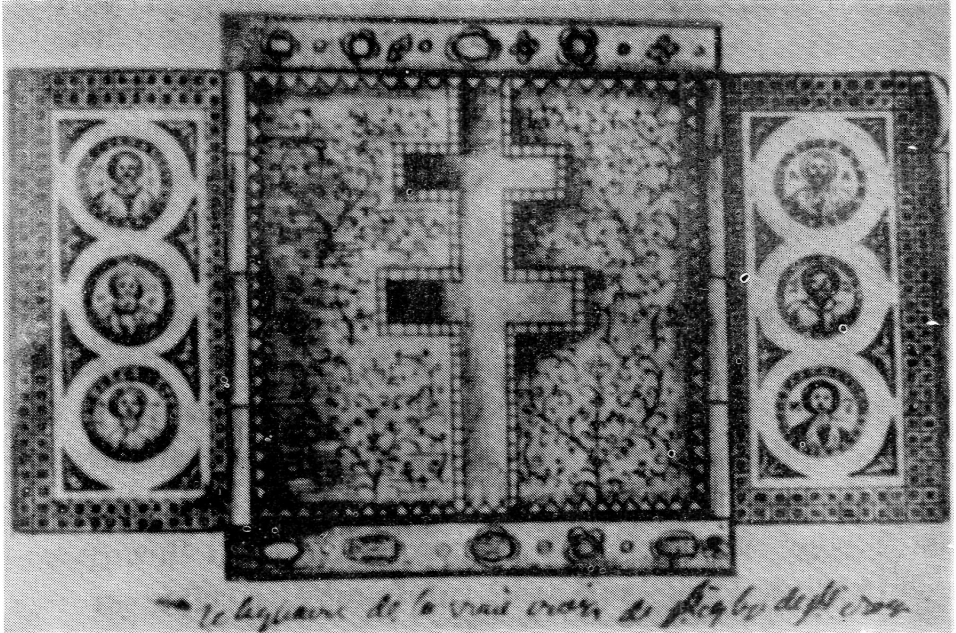


Fig.7 Drawing of 1750 of the open Poitiers Triptych (after Rosenberg).

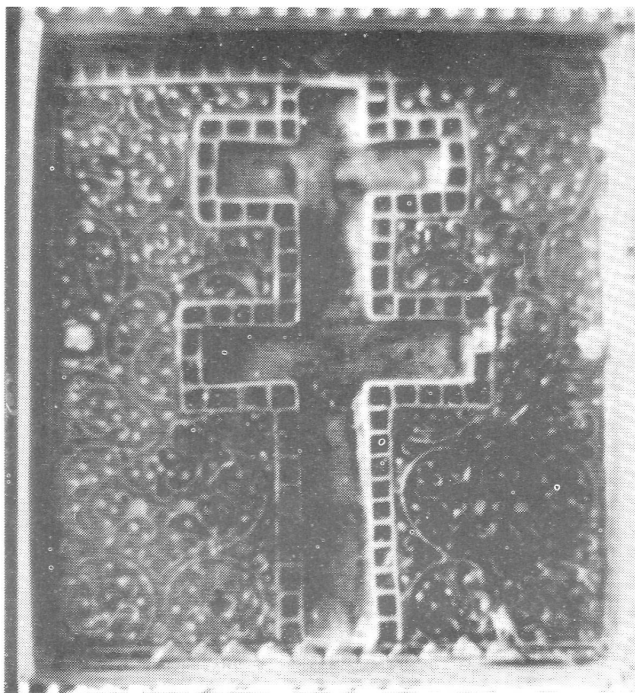


Fig.8 The Poitiers Triptych (centrepiece). Photo: author, courtesy of the Abbaye Ste Croix, Saint-Benoit.

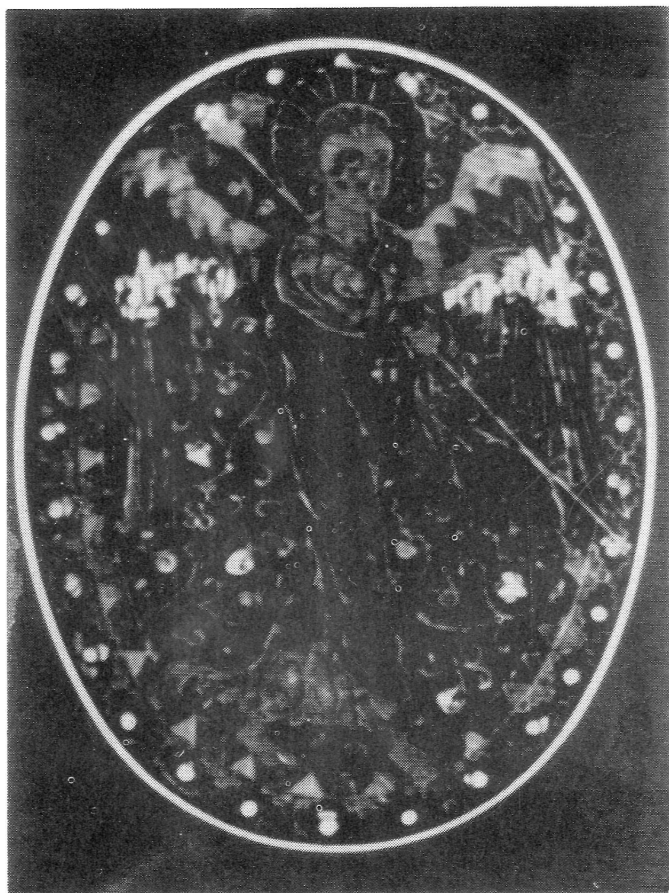


Fig.9 The Pax of Chiavenna (detail). Photo by courtesy of the Parrocchia di S. Lorenzo, Chiavenna.

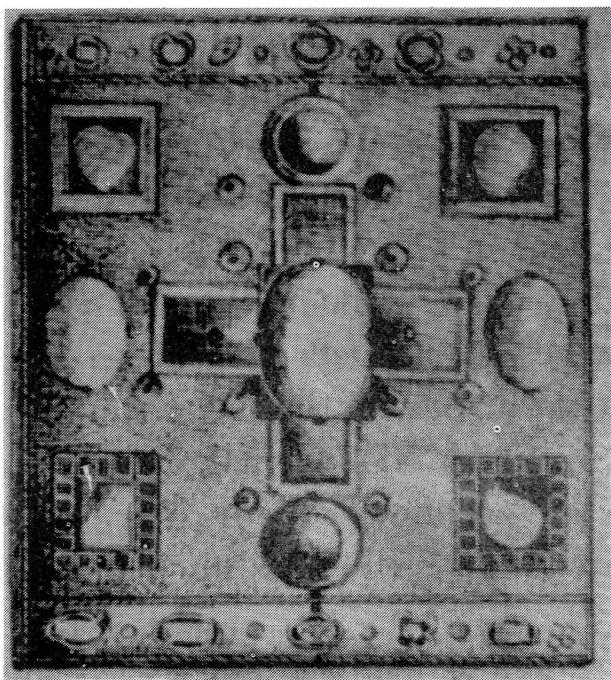


Fig.10 Drawing of 1750 of the closed Poitiers Triptych (after Rosenberg).

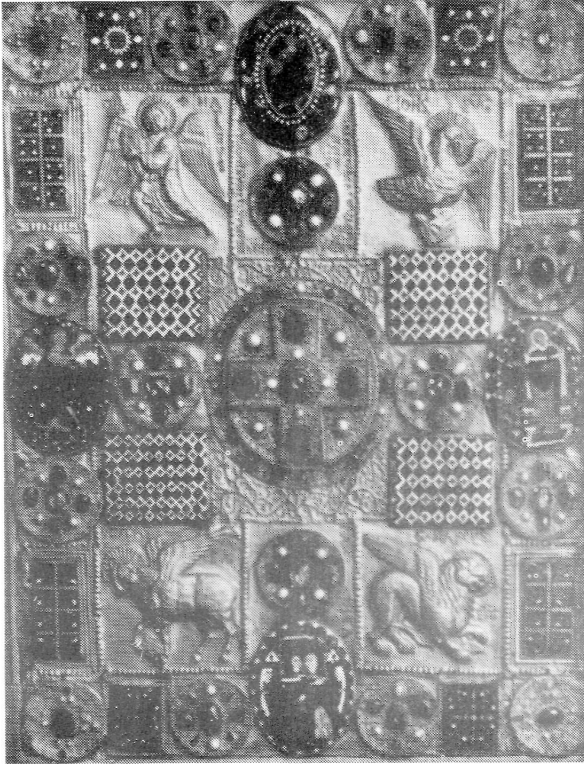


Fig.11 The Pax of Chiavenna. Photo by courtesy of the Parocchia di S.Lorenzo, Chiavenna.



Fig.12 The ewer of Saint-Maurice (detail). Photo by courtesy of the Abbaye de St-Maurice.

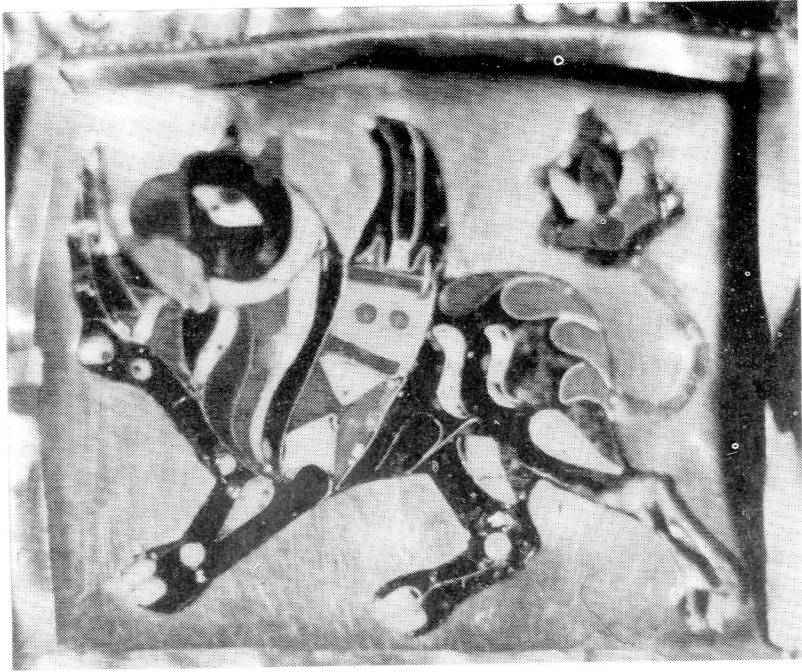


Fig.13 The cross of Abbess Theophanu (detail). Photo: author, courtesy of the Münsterschatz (Schatzkammer der Kathedrale), Essen.



Fig.14 The ewer of Saint-Maurice (detail). Photo by courtesy of the Abbaye de St-Maurice.



Fig.15 The cross of Abbess Theophanu (detail). Photo: author, courtesy of the Münsterschatz, Essen.



Fig.16 The cross of Abbess Theophanu (detail). Photo: author, courtesy of the Münsterschatz, Essen.

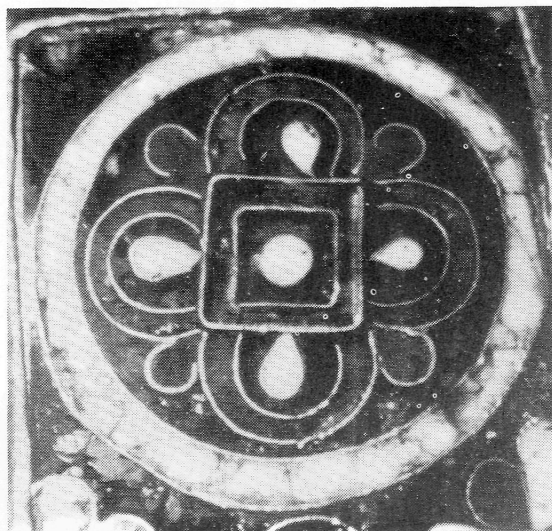


Fig.17 The ewer of Saint-Maurice (detail). Photo: author, courtesy of the Abbaye de St-Maurice.



Fig.18 The ewer of Saint-Maurice (detail). Photo by courtesy of the Abbaye de St-Maurice.

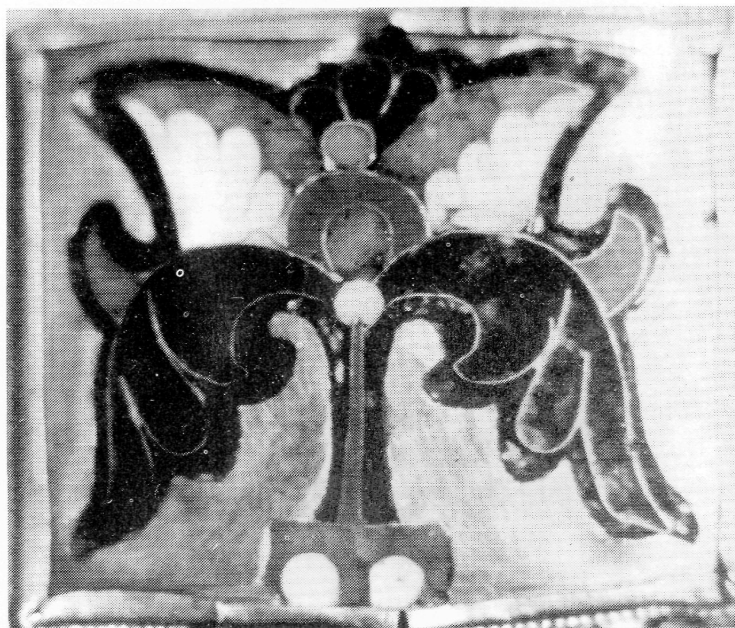


Fig.19 The cross of Abbess Theophanu (detail). Photo: author, courtesy of the Münsterschatz, Essen.



Fig.20 The Fieschi-Morgan reliquary (lid). Photo by courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

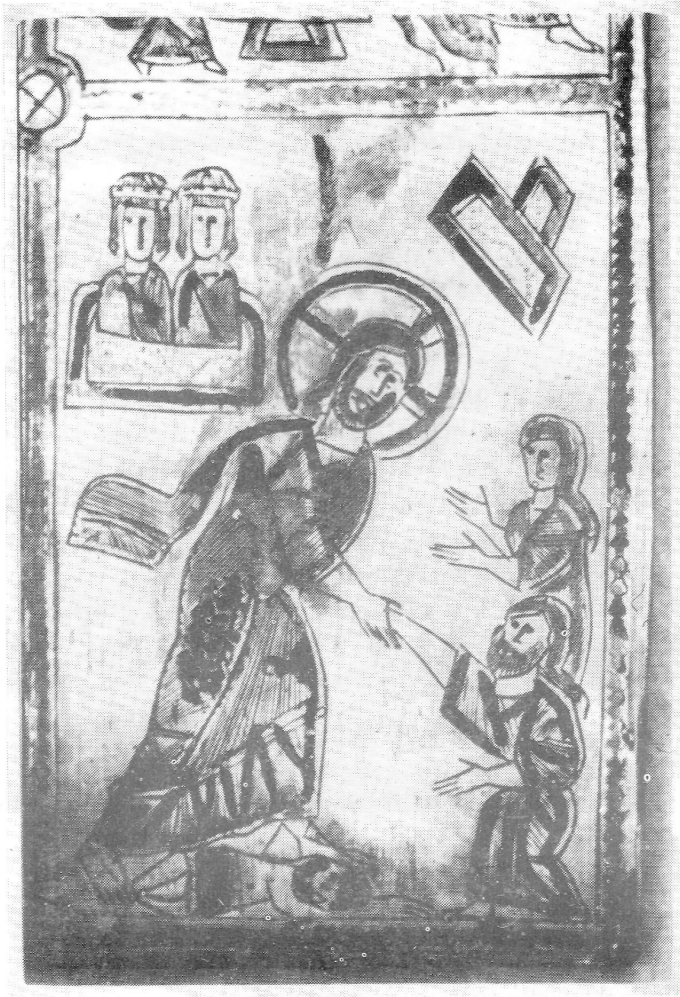


Fig.21 The Fieschi-Morgan reliquary (underside of lid, detail). Photo: author, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Fig.22 The gold altar of Milan (detail). Photo: author, courtesy of the Parrocchia di S.Ambrogio, Milan.



Fig.23 The burse-reliquary of Altheus (detail). Photo: author, courtesy of the Cathédrale de Sion.

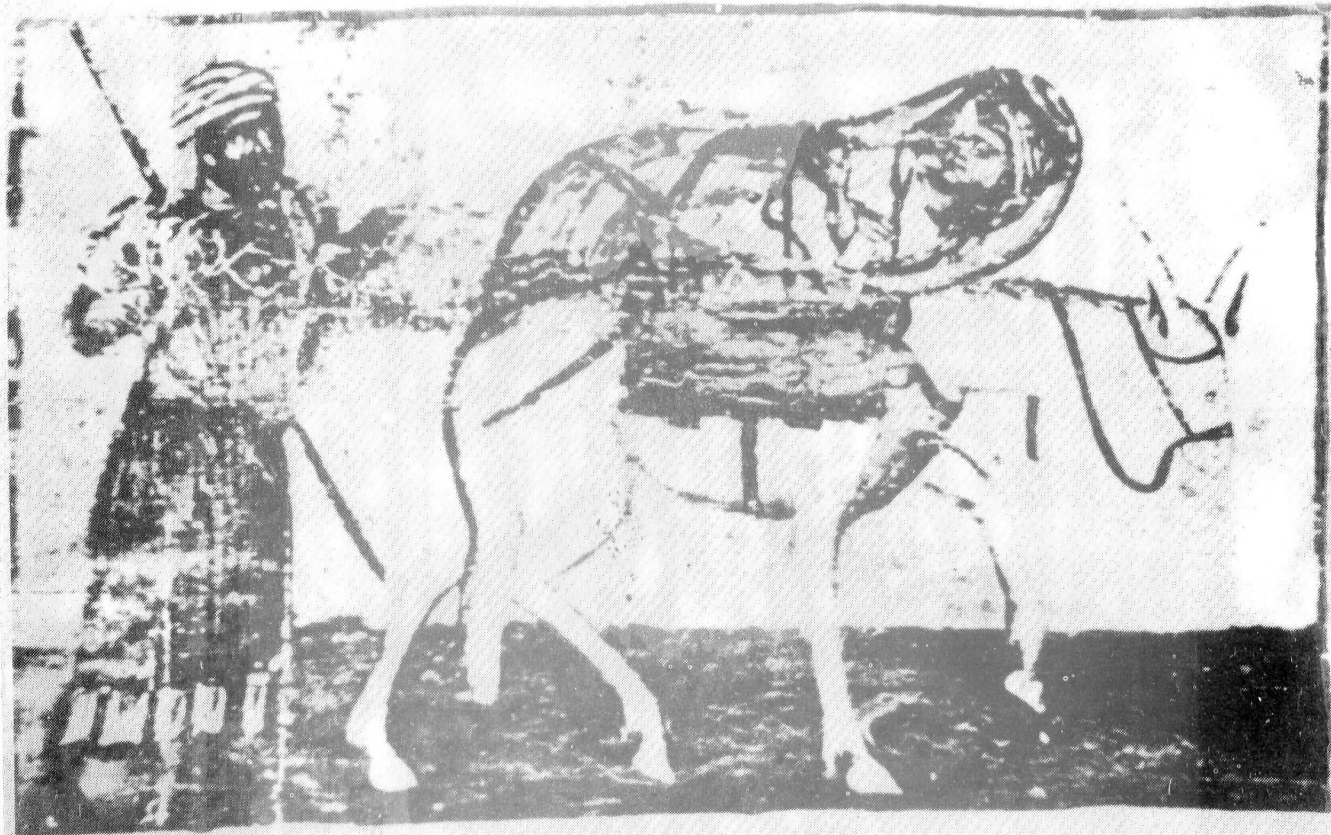


Fig. 1 The Journey of the Levite with the Dead Concubine. Smyrna Octateuch, fol. 285r. (After Hesseling.)



303, 304. Sm. 257 r. Взятіє города Гаваа.

Уничтоженіє ко́лѣна Веніамінова.

Fig. 2 Top: The Burning of Gib'e-ah.

Bottom: The Annihilation of the Benjamites (Jud. 20:28, 46). Smyrna Octateuch, fol. 257r. (After Hesseling).



Right third medallion: The Ephraimite invites the Levite to his House (Jud. 19:16-20). (Courtesy the Bodleian Library.)

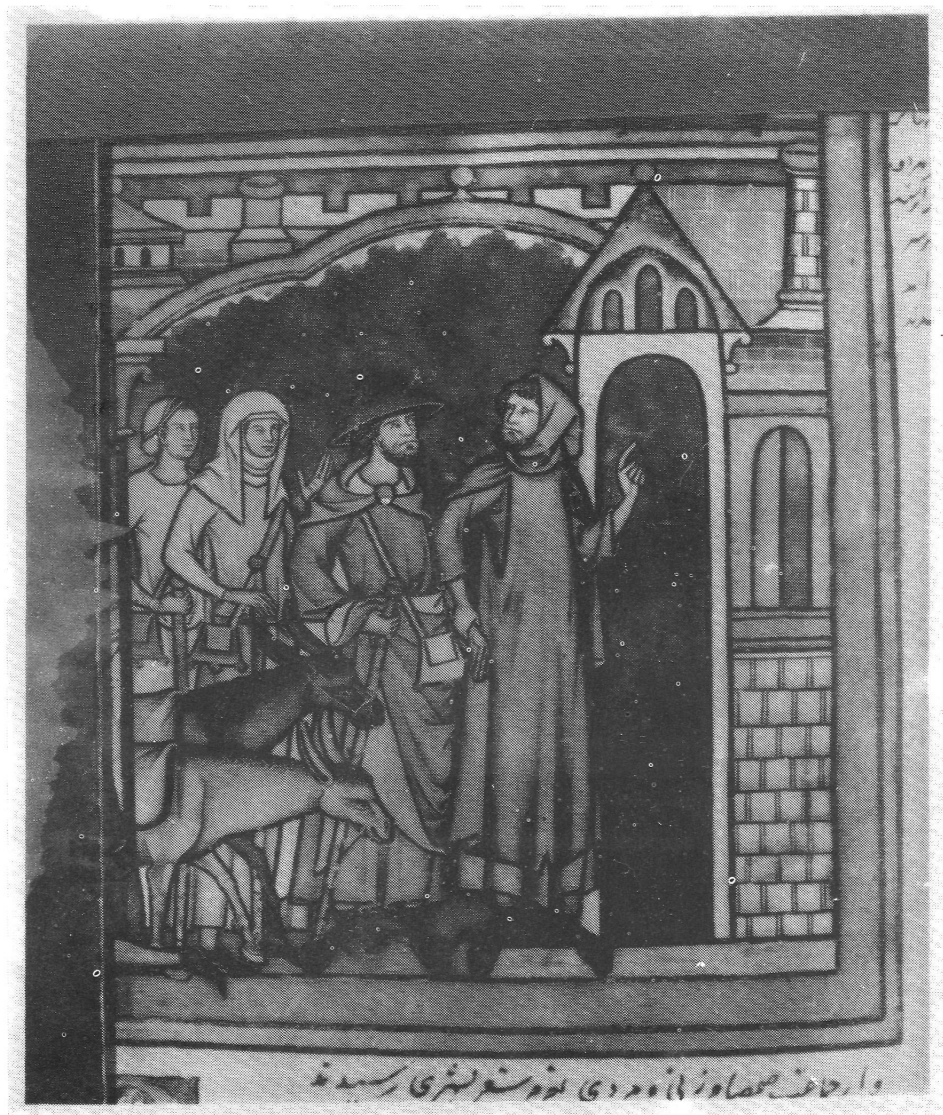


Fig. 4 The Ephraimite Leads the Levite to his House (Jud. 19:21).
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, cod. M.638, fol. 15b.
(After Cockerell.)



Fig. 5 The Ephraimite Leads the Levite to his House (Jud. 19:21).
Mount Athos, Esphigmenu cod. 14, fol. 414r.
(Courtesy K. Weitzmann.)



Fig. 6 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 270b, fol. 120r.
Scenes from the Story of the Levite (Jud. 19:22-28).
(Courtesy the Bodleian Library.)



Fig. 7 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 270b, fol. 121v.

Scenes from the Story of the Levite (Jud. 19:29, 20:12-17, 20:28, and 20:20).

(Courtesy the Bodleian Library.)



Fig. 8 Top: The Ephraimite Washes the Levite's Feet (Jud. 19:21).
 Bottom: The Men of Gib'e-ah Demand the Levite (Jud. 19:22-23).
 Mount Athos, Esphigmenou cod. 14, fol. 414v.
 (Courtesy K. Weitzmann.)

πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ ἄνθρωπος
 ὁ κύριος τοῦ οἴκου
 καὶ εἰσὼν ἀδελφοί.
 καὶ κακοποίησεν τὸ
 δὴ τὸ ἄρσεν τὸ ἄρσεν
 τὸν πλεόντων οἰκί-
 αριον· καὶ δὲ ποι-
 οῦν τὸ βραβύον τὴν
 αἰφροσύνην ταύτην.
 ἰδοὺ ἡ θυγάτηρ μου
 παρ' ἑνός· καὶ ἡ
 παλλακὶς αὐτοῦ· ὅ-
 ρα ἡ θυγάτηρ καὶ
 ταυτὴν ὡς αὐτὸς βίω-
 τος· καὶ ποιήσας τὸ
 βραβύον τὸ ἄρσεν
 τὸν πλεόντων οἰκί-
 αριον· καὶ δὲ ποι-
 οῦν τὸ βραβύον τὴν
 αἰφροσύνην ταύτην.
 ἰδοὺ ἡ θυγάτηρ μου
 παρ' ἑνός· καὶ ἡ
 παλλακὶς αὐτοῦ· ὅ-
 ρα ἡ θυγάτηρ καὶ
 ταυτὴν ὡς αὐτὸς βίω-
 τος· καὶ ποιήσας τὸ
 βραβύον τὸ ἄρσεν
 τὸν πλεόντων οἰκί-
 αριον· καὶ δὲ ποι-
 οῦν τὸ βραβύον τὴν
 αἰφροσύνην ταύτην.

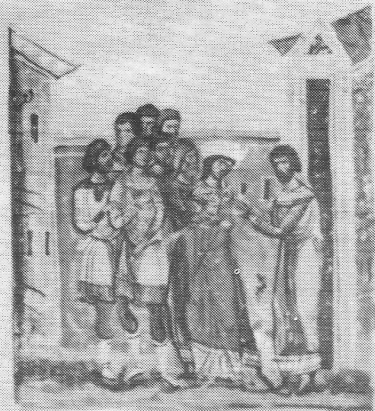
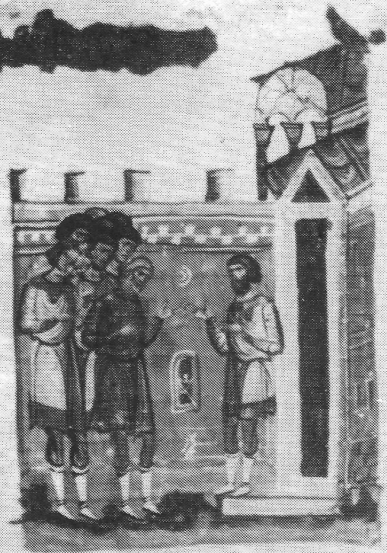


Fig. 9 Top: The Men of Gib'e-ah Demand the Levite (Jud. 19:22-23).
 Bottom: The Levite Surrenders His Concubine (Jud. 19:25).
 Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, Taphou cod. 14, fol. 109(100)v.



Fig.10 Top: The Ephraimite Entertains the Levite (Jud. 19:22); the Men of Gib'e-ah Demand the Levite (Jud. 19:22-23).
Bottom: The Concubine abused by the Men of Gib'e-ah (Jud. 19:25); the Levite finds the Concubine in the Morning (Jud. 19:27).
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, cod. M.638, fol. 16a.
(After Cockerell.)

οὐ/αὐδὶα/ω ἀρῶ
 τῶ/οἱ λ-θὸρ τῆς
 τῆ/οἱ κί/αρ μου·
 μὴ δὲ ποιέ/σῃ
 τῆ/α φρο/σύνῃ
 ταύτην· ἰδὲ ἡ/ν
 γαστήρ μου παρ
 ἄνθρωπος· καὶ ἡ/παλ
 λαί/κῃς αὐτοῦ· ξα
 ζῶ αὐτὰς· καὶ τὰ
 πῦρ/α/σ/αὶ αὐ
 τὰς· καὶ ὁ/βρα
 υ/θὸς αὐ/ν ὁ/δὲ
 πορρ/ε τῆ/ω παρ
 λαί/κῃ αὐτοῦ· ὁ
 ξῆ/ν/βρ αὐτῇ·
 ξα/καὶ ἔγρ/αμ
 αὐτῇ· καὶ ὁ/β
 ρα/ορ ἑρ/αί/τῃ
 ὁ/λη/τῆ/ω ρύ/κ/τ
 ἔ/ως παρ/αί· καὶ
 ξα/παί/τῃ αὐτῇ·



Fig.11 Top: The Levite Surrenders the Concubine (Jud. 19:25).
 Bottom: The Levite Finds the Concubine in the Morning (Jud. 19:27-28).
 Mount Athos, Esphigmenou cod. 14, fol. 415r.
 (Courtesy K.Weitzmann.)

καὶ ἡλθὲν ἡ γυνὴ
 πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας
 καὶ εὐλόγησεν αὐτοὺς
 τοῦ οἴκου οὗ ἦν ἡ
 ταῖς ῥύσας αὐτὴν αὐτὴν
 τῆς αἰσχύνης αὐτῆς
 καὶ ἀνέβη αὐτὴν αὐτὴν
 τῆς αἰσχύνης αὐτῆς
 ἡμοῖς τὰς θυρὰς
 τοῦ οἴκου καὶ ἐξῆλ-
 θὲς τοῦ πορθύριου
 τῆς οδοῦ αὐτῆς καὶ
 ἰδοὺ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ πόρνη
 κῆν αὐτὸ ὡς πτωκὺν
 παρὰ τὰς θυρὰς τῆς
 οἴκου καὶ αἱ χεῖρες
 αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τῶν πορ-
 θυρίων καὶ ἔπειτα
 αὐτὴν ἀνέβη ὁ
 ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς καὶ
 οὐκ ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ φωνὴ
 οὐδὲ ἀκροασις
 ὁ λαὸς αὐτῆς ἐπὶ
 τῆς οδοῦ καὶ εὐλόγη-
 σεν αὐτὴν ὁ λαὸς
 ὁ λαὸς αὐτῆς ἐπὶ
 τῆς οδοῦ καὶ ἐμὴν
 σβ

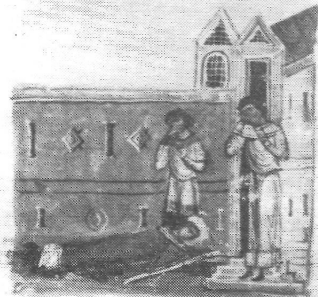


Fig.12 Top: The Men of Gib'ah Release the Concubine (Jud. 19:25-26).
 Middle: The Levite Finds the Concubine in the Morning (Jud. 19:27-28).
 Bottom: The Journey of the Levite with the Dead Concubine (Jud. 19:28).
 Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, Taphou cod. 14, fol. 110(111)r.



Fig.13 Top: The Journey of the Levite with the Dead Concubine, the Levite Hews the Concubine, and the Distribution of the Parts (Jud. 19:28, 29, 29-30, respectively).

Bottom: Battle scene (Jud. 20).

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, cod. M.638, fol. 16b.

(After Cockerell.)



Fig.14 Top: The Levite Hews the Concubine (Jud. 19:29).
 Middle: The Distribution of the Parts (Jud. 19:29-30).
 Bottom: The First Defeat of the Israelites (Jud. 20:20).
 Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, Taphou cod. 14, fol. 110(111)v.



Fig.15 The Distribution of the Parts (Jud. 19:29-30).
 Cathedral of Toledo, Moralized Bible.

ὁ ἄκροασι.
 καὶ ἐβραβεύαυ
 ἔσθ' ἡσυχία.
 καὶ ἐβωρὶ ἔθ' ἡ
 ἔσθ' ἡσυχία
 τοῦ. καὶ ἐβρα
 υβρὶ τὴν ῥομφαι
 ἀρ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐμ
 ρησὶ τὴν ῥομφαι
 λαλὴν αὐτοῦ εἰς
 δ' ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς
 καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς
 αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ
 ὀρίῳ ἡλ. καὶ
 εἰς τὸ πᾶν ὅ
 υβρὶ τὴν αὐτὰ
 ἐβραβεύαυ.
 ἔσθ' ἡσυχία
 σαι αἰφύρῳ ἡλ.
 κατὰ φύλῃς
 υβρὶ τὴν ῥομφαι
 τὸν τὸν τὸν



Fig.16 Top: The Levite with the ass.

Bottom: The Levite Hews the Concubine (Jud. 19:29).

Mount Athos, Esphigmenu cod. 14, fol. 416r.

(Courtesy K. Weitzmann.)

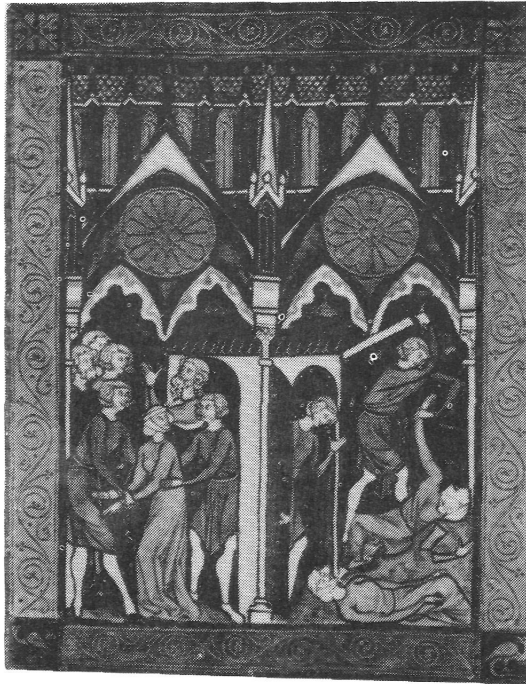


Fig.17 Four Scenes from the Levite story (Jud. 19:22-29).
Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 10525, fol. 63v.
(After Omont.)